

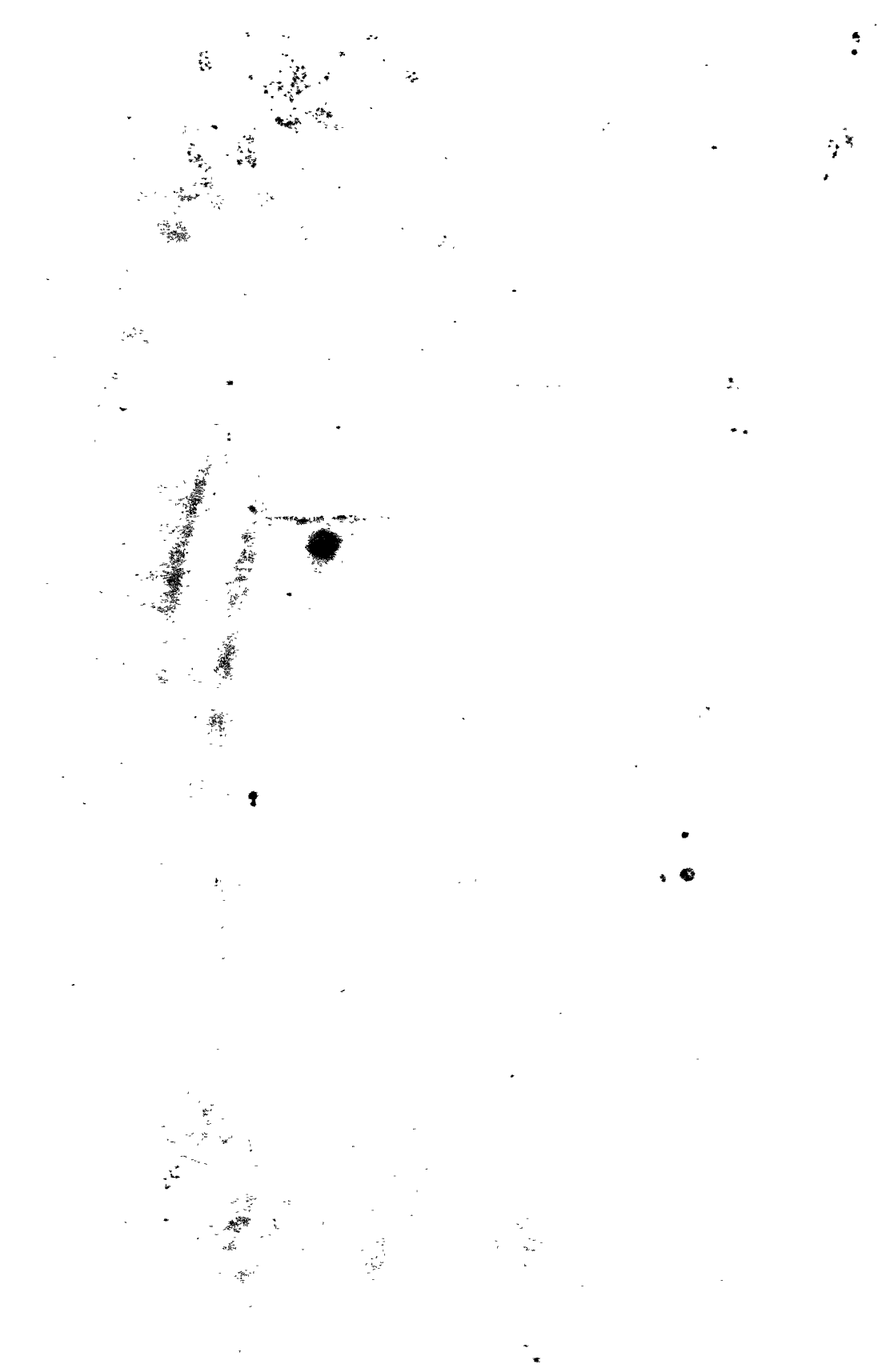
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THE PLACE OF THE AMORITES IN THE CIVILIZATION OF WESTERN ASIA ¹

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PROFESSOR CLAY in four noteworthy volumes has developed a striking theory of the antiquity of the Amorites, and of the importance of their land as the centre from which all Semitic civilization radiated. He claims in substance that the Amorites possessed a civilization as old if not older than those of Egypt and Babylonia; that they originated or possessed the early Biblical traditions which most scholars believe the Hebrews obtained from the Babylonians; in short, that they were the earliest fountain of all that was wise and civilized in the Mediterranean area. His claims for the Amorites have not been reached all at once; one can trace the progressive growth of the idea through the four books, *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites*, 1909; *The Empire of the Amorites*, 1919; *A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform*, 1922; and *The Origin of Biblical Traditions*, 1923. The writer was present at the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature when Professor Clay presented for the first time to scholars his discovery of Amurru, and he then pointed out, during the discussion which followed, what, in his judgment, were the narrow limits within which Professor Clay's methods could be called scientific, saying in substance that, applied as the author of the paper had applied them, they could not lead to solid results except within a small area. As the successive volumes of his friend have

¹ This paper was completed in August, 1924. On September 22d of the same year I received Professor Clay's privately printed pamphlet, *The Antiquity of the Amorites*. After reading this pamphlet I find no reason to withdraw or modify anything I have here written. My arguments, philological, historical, exegetical and religious he has not met. Professor Clay's claim that Professor Sayce accepts his views is shown to be mistaken by Sayce's article "Who were the Amorites?" in the September, 1924, number of *Ancient Egypt*. Sayce believes the Amorites to have been Indo-Europeans who made their appearance later than Clay thinks. His claim that Professor Chiera thinks that the Nippur tablet concerning the Amorites confirms his (Clay's) theory is equally erroneous. Chiera has explicitly stated his opinion in his new volume, *Sumerian Religious Texts*, p. 22 f., quoted in this article, pp. 15 f., from Chiera's proof-sheets.

appeared he has read them with the desire to learn and be convinced by the work of an admired colleague, but he has never been able to find reason to revise that first judgment of the method, when applied as broadly as in these books it has been applied. This conviction has been expressed more than once: in reviews of *Amurru* and *The Empire of the Amorites* and in the article "Semites" in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

Two things have led the writer recently to study the subject again. One of these is the publication within the last two years of the last two books mentioned above—books which were apparently intended to challenge attention and to demand acceptance or rejection. The other is the task of revising some of his own books which touch upon these subjects. He feels it due to the importance of the subject that he attempt to set forth his reasons for dissenting from some of the conclusions which have been reached in these volumes.

Before doing so, it is but fitting that he express his admiration for most of the work of Professor Clay and for the value of his contributions to knowledge. His beautiful and accurate editions of multitudes of cuneiform texts and his patient labor in classifying and studying thousands of proper names from the cuneiform literature have made every scholar his debtor. His studies concerning the Amorites published in the four volumes mentioned above have also thrown welcome light on many points, and must be reckoned with by anyone who deals with the questions involved. Although it is believed that some things which Professor Clay has taken to be facts turn out, when critically examined, not to be so, and that, in interpreting his facts, he has failed to reach the conclusion to which his material really points because he did not take all the facts into account,—so to believe is by no means to undervalue his work or to reflect upon him as a scholar. The problems connected with the history of an early civilization are most complicated, and where, as in this case, the evidence is fragmentary and widely scattered through different fields of study, are most difficult of solution. Progress is only made by projecting hypotheses, trying them out, and frankly rejecting them, if they seem inadequate. It is in this spirit that the present writer has worked and is working. Hypotheses which he put forth in past years he has freely altered because of more complete evidence.

To establish the existence of an empire in a time that is practically pre-historic and to explain the origin and growth of the principal cult of Semitic religion is a task which involves a knowledge of the technique of a number of sciences. When the problem lies in ancient Babylonia not only the skill and experience of the Assyriologist are required, but a broad and accurate knowledge of the development of comparative Semitic and Hamitic grammar, a good degree of experience in the analysis and criticism of historical evidence, and a broad knowledge of the workings of the mind of early men gained by comprehensive study of the history of religions. No worker in a field so broad and which touches so many sciences is likely to be familiar with all the facts and principles which should be taken into account. Although the work of one may compel him to be more familiar with this extensive field than another who has worked in a more restricted territory, nevertheless each will "know in part and will prophesy in part." There is, therefore, ample room for differences of opinion with mutual consideration and respect. When all this is taken into account, it is certainly no reflection on an eminent Assyriologist to dissent from the first formulations of his opinions.

The reasons for my dissent can best be made clear by discussing the following topics:

1. First the claim that Arabia is not the cradle-land of the Semites.

2. That *Mar^{ku}* of the inscriptions of the dynasty of Ur-Nina at Lagash is Amurru; that *Nin-Mar^{ku}* is the god Amurru, and that this shows that *Ma-ir^{ku}* (or *Ma-ri^{ku}*) was also Amurru, which was also called *Mur*.

3. I differ from him in thinking that any trace of the Amorites has been found earlier than the dynasty of Agade.

4. I believe there is no linguistic evidence that the Amorites were West Semitic; they were more probably East Semitic.

5. If they were West Semitic, they were so uncultured that, when they did not express themselves in Sumerian, they adopted East Semitic speech in their writings.

6. The Ishtar cult, I believe, did not originate in Amurru, and there is no real evidence that Semites were in possession of Aleppo before the time of Rimush, when its Patesi seems to have borne a Sumerian name.

7. All available evidence shows that, if certain Biblical traditions did not originate in Babylonia, they passed through that country, and that, as they appear in the Old Testament, they have to a certain extent a Babylonian background.

It is proposed to take up these points briefly *seriatim*.

1. The author's treatment of the Semitic cradle-land is found in chapter II of his *Empire of the Amorites*. It consists mainly of an effort to minimize the evidence that the various waves of Semitic migration came from Arabia, and to show that the Arabian element in the proper names of the various Semitic groups is small. After minimizing the evidence in this way, it is asserted that the Semites might well have radiated from Amurru, though no real proof that they did so is offered.² In minimizing the evidence for an Arabian origin he often betrays a misunderstanding of the view that he is opposing, and he takes no account whatever of the increasing evidence that the Hamitic and Semitic languages sprang from the same stock—a fact that in the judgment of the present writer compels us to look for a common cradle-land for the two races and for a Semitic cradle-land sufficiently near to the Hamitic country, so that the ancestors of the Semites might naturally migrate in primitive times from one to the other. In *Semitic Origins* attention was called to this linguistic connection, and in an article in *JAOS*, xxxv, 213-223, the writer pointed out some of the more striking features which prove the linguistic kinship of the two groups. Such facts are numerous, as any Semitic scholar would see were he to examine thoroughly the grammars of various Hamitic dialects written by Erman, Sethe, Steindorf, Reinsch, Motylinski, and Stumme, mentioned in that article. The fact is the Hamito-Semitic languages are so different from the Indo-European in structure and in their psychological approach to the expression of thought, that they undoubtedly represent a linguistic development of a group of speechless men quite independent of the Indo-European. They are equally independent of the Mongolian, and all other language groups. This fact, when taken in connection with the habitat of the Hamites and Semites in Africa and Asia during the historical period, compels us to look for the cradle-land of this united race either in Africa or Arabia. It is altogether

² *Empire of the Amorites*, p. 48.

probable that a few millenniums ago Arabia was more fertile than now, and that its gradual dessication has forced the Semites out into other lands. All the considerations derived from probabilities of migration cited in *Semitic Origins* are still valid and many others have since been added by a comparison of the proper names contained in Arabic inscriptions with other Semitic proper names. In this field the work of Rhodokanakis and Margoliouth³ has been most fruitful. The last mentioned scholar, after a comparison of Hebrew and Arabic names, justly sums up the result in these words: "What we notice then is that these names which are found among both nations bear in themselves the evidence of being indigenous in Arabia. It was there that they were freshly coined, when the sense of both elements was clear; the emigrants retained the names or style of nomenclature, but in the course of the ages the sense of one or at times both elements was lost or changed."⁴ This statement is abundantly borne out by the citation of definite examples. One class of names—those into which 'Amm enters as an element—is characteristic of the Amorites as well as of the Hebrews. In Arabia 'Amm was a god. In that land his name entered into the composition of personal names naturally as did those of any other Semitic god, but this is true of no other Semitic country. Amorites and Hebrews perpetuated the names into which this god had entered as a compound long after they had migrated to other lands and had ceased to worship him.⁵ The perpetuation of the tradition is, however, evidence of their Arabian origin.⁶

The theory that Arabia was the original home of the Semites and that all through the historical period they have been spilling out from it, a view so compatible with facts that in recent years it

³ Margoliouth, *The Relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the Rise of Islam*, 1924. Lecture I.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵ Albright in his review of Margoliouth's book (*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, IV, 204 ff.), dissents from this view, but a careful consideration of Gl. 1601 and 1602 (Rhodokanakis, *Katabanische Texte*, Vienna, 1919) sustains Margoliouth rather than Albright. The inscriptions record the presentation of offerings to Amm and Athirat and clearly establish their status as deities among the Qatabanians.

⁶ Clay, *Personal Names of the Cassite Period*, p. 156, regards the element Am-ma in personal names as a divine element. It is not written, however, with the determinative for deity, as is common in all such names except in the earliest period, and Margoliouth's explanation is the more probable.

has held the field against all others, our author rejects, partly because it lacks historical evidence, and partly because in some instances, as in the case of the Hebrews, there seems to be evidence that in part at least they came from Aram. He also makes the point that the Habiri, who may have been connected with the Hebrews, were also connected with the Hittites.

With reference to specific points in the argument certain considerations should be noted. 1. If within Arabia itself the foundations were laid for the various groups of Semitic languages, as East Semitic, West Semitic, South Semitic, just as different villages in Palestine speak different dialects, it is no argument against the Arabian origin of the Semites if few Arabic elements are found in Babylonian proper names, for the tribes which remained in Arabia and which constituted the ancestors of those whom we now call Arabs were too far from the Mesopotamian valley to reach it in large numbers. 2. Evidence is accumulating that the Habiri were mercenary soldiers, probably of a mixed character. Those in the El-Amarna letters appear not to have been employed at the moment by any government, but to have been banded together to forage on their own account. It is not unlikely that a body of these was merged in the nation Israel, and it may be that a Hittite element entered the nation in that way;⁷ cf. Eze. 16:3. 3. Scholars now recognize that the Hebrew people as known to history were made up of those invaders who preserved the memory of the desert sojourn combined with Canaanites, Amorites, and probably Hittites who were already in the land before them. Notwithstanding all this the Biblical accounts themselves contain two distinct traditions, that a part of the ancestors of the Hebrews were once nomads in the Arabian desert to the south of Palestine, and that from that region they invaded the country, in which they afterward lived, in two waves, one of which approached it from the south and the other from the east.⁸ Here, then, is positive evidence in the very traditions, the originality of which our author is trying to vindicate, that once the population of Arabia spilled over into Palestine.

This evidence does not stand alone. In the inscriptions of

⁷ But on the other side compare Dhorme in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, p. 162 ff.

⁸ See Paton in *JBL*, 33, 1-53 and Barton, *Religion of Israel*, ch. iii.

Ashurbanipal we have positive evidence that in his time the Nabathaeans were roaming the Arabian desert,⁹ evidence which their own inscriptions from a later date confirm.¹⁰ We have also evidence that they conquered ancient Edom and a considerable section of the East Jordan country, where they established a kingdom which lasted until 105 A. D., when Trajan overthrew it, and erected its territory into the Roman province of Arabia. The process by which the Nabathaeans gained possession of this land is alluded to by the Prophet Malachi.¹¹ A later eruption of Arabs from these deserts, well attested by many historians, occurred at the time of the Medina Caliphate. It is remarkable that, considering the semicivilized nature of the Bedu who roam the Arabian deserts, their generally disorganized character, and the lack of a knowledge of the art of writing among them, there should be even these three well attested historical instances of migration from that region and the invasion by them of other lands. Unless Amurru itself was originally in Arabia, there is no clear evidence that Semites have passed from it into other lands (unless Babylonia be an exception) in such waves as seriously to affect their civilization. Whatever admixture of other elements entered into the composition of the people Israel, and whatever traditions they borrowed from Babylonia and Aram, they derived their profoundest culture, as Margoliouth declares,¹² from Arabia.

2. Turning now to the second of the points mentioned above, we select for discussion one on which much is built, but which seems to us demonstrably unreal, viz: *mat*Mar-*tu*^k = *mat*Mar^k. In the *Empire of the Amorites*, 68 ff., *JAOS*, xli, 243, and throughout the *Origin of the Biblical Traditions*, much of the structure of Professor Clay rests on this equivalence. The proof of the equivalence of the series *Enuma Anu* is that in some 'Bel tablets from the library of Assurbanipal, published some years ago by Virolleaud in his *L'astrologie chaldéenne*,¹³ the ideograms *Mar*^k and *mat*Mar^k occur. Some years later Scheil found among some tablets

⁹ See Rassam Cylinder, col. ix, 118 ff.

¹⁰ See *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, ii, *passim*. Some of these come from Oases, like Teima.

¹¹ Mal. 1: 3.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

¹³ See his *Adad*, xxii. The text in question is K 2169.

from Elam fragments of the same texts written much earlier in which the corresponding names are spelled out syllabically *A-mu-ra-im*. This has been taken for epigraphic evidence that the place *Mar^{ki}*, which occurs in the inscriptions as early as *Ur-nina* and which had a deity *Nin-Mar^{ki}*, is identical with *Amurru*. The *Amar* of the Sumerian form of the name *Marduk* is identified with this *Mar*, which is said to be also spelled *Mer*, *Me-ir*, and *Mur*. On this basis the city *Ma-ri* and its dynasty of the fourth millennium B. C. are claimed as Amorite.

Will this series of equivalents bear the weight of historical inference put upon it? We do not think so. The place designated *Mar^{ki}* in the astrological text from *Ashurbanipal* is indeed intended for *Amurru* as *Virolleaud* recognized years ago when he published the texts. That is plain from the context, which mentions *Shubartu*, the country north of *Babylonia*, *Elam*, the country east of it and *Amurru*, the country west of it. The scribes of *Ashurbanipal* had no idea, however, of identifying the earlier *Mar^{ki}* with *Amurru*. All they did was to abbreviate the common Sumerian ideogram *Mar-tu^{ki}*, the ideogram for the westland, which apparently meant in Sumerian "the entering in of the chariot," i. e. "the going down of the sun,"¹⁴ by omitting the writing of its last syllable.¹⁵ Every Assyriologist knows that in all periods of the

¹⁴ In later Babylonian writing the sign denoted more than twenty ideographic meanings besides "chariot" and, when "chariot" was intended, the determinative *giš* (Akkadian *is*) was prefixed. In the time prior to 3000 B. C. determinatives were seldom employed, and the origin of the sign is most plausibly explained as the diagram of a chariot; see Barton, *Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing*, no. 262, and Part II, 137. "Chariot" seems, therefore, to have been the earliest meaning of the sign, and the omission of the determinative is no objection to the supposition that it originally signified that in this proper name.

¹⁵ That this is the true explanation is further shown by the fact that *immar-tu* is defined in IIR, 29, 4g as *a-har-ru*, 'behind,' 'west' and is used as the ideogram for "west," "west-wind," just as *imgišgal-lu* is used for "south"; *imsi-di*, for "north," *imkúr-ra*, for "east." Now it so happens that in No. xix of *Virolleaud's Adad*, lines 21-23 (K, 2227, and K, 3590) the scribe copied a passage in which ideograms for all four points of the compass occur, and he abbreviated every one of them, writing *imgišgal* for "south"; *imsi*, for "north"; *imkur* for "east"; and, *immar* for "west." This clearly proves that in the other case it was an abbreviated ideogram for a Semitic word and that the *mar* was not so pronounced in these texts by the Semites but was simply a symbol for a

writing compound ideograms were abbreviated in writing. That is clearly what the scribes of Ashurbanipal did here, since, like the rest of us, they were lazy. They had no thought of identifying Amurru with Mar^{ki}, which had disappeared from history about 1500 years before, and the identity of their abbreviation with the ancient name Mar^{ki} is purely accidental. Moreover, all that we hear of Mar^{ki} indicates that it lay in an entirely different direction. Near Lagash in southern Babylonia was a place called E-Nin-Mar^{ki}. Its deity ^aNin-Mar^{ki} was a member of the pantheon of the kings of Lagash from Ur-nina onward. Sargon, founder of the dynasty of Agade, in enumerating his victories in southern Babylonia, enumerates his conquered cities in the following order: Erech, Ur, E-^aNin-Mar^{ki}, and Lagash, and says: "E-^aNin-Mar^{ki} he smote and its wall destroyed and smote its territory from Lagash to the sea."¹⁶ The sea here clearly refers to the Persian Gulf, for Sargon in another passage describes his conquest of the country to the northwest of his capital in the following words: "And he gave to him the upper land, Mari,¹⁷ Iarmuti, and Ibla as far as the cedar forest and the silver mountains."¹⁸ It may, of course, be said that the shrine of this goddess does not represent the original situation of Mar^{ki}, as foreign settlers might have brought the worship of their deity from a distant land. It should be noted, however, that all other deities worshipped in Lagash are native to southern Babylonia, and to suppose that this one is an exception is quite gratuitous. Such a supposition seems also to be negatived by the statement that ^aNin-Mar^{ki} is the firstborn child of Nina.¹⁹ This is parallel to the statement that the goddess Khegir is the beloved daughter of Ningirsu.²⁰ It is presumptive evidence that all these deities were native to southern Babylonia as the people of Lagash were conscious of no differences.

Semitic word, *Amurru* or *aḫaru*. This is further shown by a comparison of Virolleaud's *Supplement, Text*, No. xix, in which the ideograms *maṣnim-maki* and *matmar-tuki*, both of which are abbreviated in the text No. xxii, on which Clay's theory is built, are both written out in full.

¹⁶ See *UMBS*, v, no. 34, col. iii; cf. vol. iv, p. 74.

¹⁷ *Ma-ri* was clearly north of Agade, probably at the modern Hit as Clay thinks.

¹⁸ *UMBS*, v, no. 34, col. vi.

¹⁹ Ur-Bau, Statue Inscription, v, 8-10; and Gudea, Stat. B., ix, 1.

²⁰ Urkagina, Doorsocket, 27 and Plaque, v, 17.

The recently published texts from Fara, which Deimal believes to have been written somewhat earlier than Ur-Nina (possibly about 3200 B. C.), shed little light on the problem. The school-texts show that the name of the goddess Nin-mar was known, as it occurs²¹ twice in the lists. It lacks the determinative *ki*, but that is not a serious objection as in the earliest texts determinatives were not used. The goddess was, apparently, not worshipped at Fara as her name does not appear as a component part of any of the personal names yet published.

In the administrative texts from Fara the word *mar* occurs three times after the personal name ^dAg or Dingir-ag. Deimal takes *mar* to be a separate word, but it may be part of the name ^dAg-mar.²² The word *mar* appears in another text—a list of fields—after the word for field and before the name of a person.²³ Deimal takes it to be a description of the field. It might be “an inhabited field” or “a ruined field”; conceivably “a field of the country Mar.”

Similarly in a payroll²⁴ we find, after a proper name, *mar-tu* or *mar-tú(d)*. Deimal takes it as a separate word, but it may also be a part of the proper name. It seems, however, to be parallel to *har-tú(d)* or *mur-tú(d)* which occurs a few lines above. Suppose we were to assume—a most improbable assumption—that *mar* and *mar-tu* stand here for countries from which the bearers of these names came, these texts would not prove Mar and Martu to be identical, but distinct countries—distinct because they bore different names.

Indeed it is not safe always to conclude that cities which are designated by the same ideogram are identical. Nina, a borough of Lagash, and Nineveh were designated by the same ideogram and were pronounced exactly alike, but one was situated in southern Babylonia and the other far up the Tigris in Assyria. There is clearly no possibility that E-^dNin-Mar^{ki} can have been identified by anyone with Amurru, and practically none that the Mar^{ki} over which the goddess originally presided can have been so identified. Suppose, for the sake of argument, however, one were to grant the

²¹ Deimal, *Schultexte aus Fara*, Leipzig, 1923, no. 5, rev. 4 and no. 6, 2.

²² Deimal, *Wirtschaftstexte aus Fara*, Leipzig, 1924, no. 18, 4; no. 53, 1; and no. 100, 6.

²³ *Ibid.*, no. 46, 1.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 78, 10.

possibility that Mar^{ki} and Mar-tu^{ki} actually referred to the same region, it would by no means prove that the region was inhabited by Amorites from the earliest times. We learn from Drake's *History and Antiquities of Boston* ²⁵ that Mushauwomuk was another name for the locality later called Boston, but that affords no sound historical basis for supposing that Boston was inhabited by Puritans in, let us say 1500, 1200, or 1000 B. C., or whenever the Indian name was given.

The one satisfactory explanation is that the scribes of Ashurbanipal abbreviated their ideogram as other scribes often did. This being the case, the identifications of other words with this Mar are also fallacious. Amar, written with the sign for child or young animal, had nothing to do with this name which was written with the sign for chariot. The name of the place Mari had nothing to do with it, as it is always written with the signs Mā-rī^{ki}. The possible connection that Amorites may have had with Mari in later times will be discussed below. Professor Clay finds confirmation of his identification of Mar^{ki} with Amurru by the occurrence of the name of a God Mar in proper names in certain North Semitic Epigraphic inscriptions. These names, which in 1909 he explained as equivalent to a god 𐤌, i. e., Uru, because of his then recent discovery Uru = Amurru, he now explains as a survival of this supposed older name of the god Mar = Amurru, an equivalence which we have shown to be imaginary. The name of the Sumerian deity in Southern Babylonia was not *Mar^{ki}, but *Nin-Mar^{ki}, and to suppose that Semites would adopt as the name of one of their gods half of the Sumerian ideogram Mar-tu, is to me unthinkable. If this 𐤌 is to be regarded as the equivalent of the Syriac marā "lord," as Clay suggests (*Empire of the Amorites*, p. 69), in reality a simpler and thoroughly satisfactory explanation lies close to our hand.

The Arabic root mr', "be easily digested," means also "be manful, manly, brave" and in the 5th stem "show manliness." We have also in Arabic mar'un "man" and in the Sabea inscriptions מר meaning both "man" and "lord." Doubtless it was from this common Semitic source that the word came into Aramaic and Syriac, and not from the name of a god Mar. Such a name would not account for the final 𐤌.

²⁵ Pp. 457, 467 and 832.

3. Turning to the third point enumerated above, Professor Clay claims that the dynasty of Mari was Amorite, and that the dynastic tablet from Nippur, therefore, establishes his contention that there was an Amorite empire in the fourth millennium B. C. His proof that Ma-ri is identical with Amurru has already been examined and found to rest on a mistaken equivalence. Is there any evidence that it was Semitic? About the middle of the 24th century Ma-ri^{ki} produced a Semitic ruler Ishbi-urra²⁸ and was then apparently Semitic, but this does not prove that the Semites were in possession of it a thousand years earlier. Excavation has shown that Ashur was occupied by Sumerians about 3000 B. C., although five hundred years later it was in the possession of Semites, and in the absence of proof to the contrary, the probability is that the same would be true of Mari. The only complete name of a king of Mari that has survived from the dynasty of the fourth millennium is written ⁴*Sir* or ⁴*Gid*, perhaps to be read *An-sir* or *An-gid*.²⁹ If read in one of the former ways it might be an ideogram either for the god Enlil or the god Nannar; ³⁰ if in one of the latter ways, it might mean "The god Anu is bright" or "Heaven is bright." There is one other possibility; it might also be read *An-bu*,³¹ and, if so read, it might be Semitic. However the name is read, there is but one chance in four that it is a Semitic name, and this chance seems to be negated by the fact that the one inscription that we have from a king of Mari is in Sumerian. If we could trace a Semitic dynasty anywhere in Babylonia, we should expect to do so at the city of Kish, but they appear there only about a hundred years before the founding of the dynasty of Agade,³² and then there is nothing to suggest that they are Amorite.

The theory of an Amorite empire in the fourth millennium B. C. rests, then, on the assumption that Mar equals Amurru and that therefore Ma-ri also equals Amurru and that the kings of Ma-ri were Semitic. In the light of what has been said it is clear that the possibility that either of these assumptions is true is infinitesimal. Such possibilities do not constitute historical proof. His-

²⁸ Cf. Barton, *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions*, i, no. 9.

²⁹ Legrain, *UMBS*, xiii, no. 1, col. v.

³⁰ Barton, *OBW*, no. 325.

³¹ Langdon, *Oxford Edition of Cuneiform Texts*, ii, p. 15, n. 4.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

torical proof does not consist of infinitesimal possibilities, which are opposed to all linguistic and historical analogies. We conclude therefore that we have no trace of the Amorites in Babylonia before the dynasty of Agade.

4. This brings us to the fourth and fifth points: was the dynasty of Agade Amorite, and, if so, were the Amorites a section of the West Semitic or of the East Semitic tribes? Two things suggest the possibility that the city of Agade may have been an Amorite foundation and that the dynasty itself may have been Amorite. They are 1. That the ideogram for the city of Akkad was pronounced in Sumerian *Ūr* or *Ūri*, and that the same ideogram, pronounced *Āri*, also signified *Amur* or Amorite.³³ 2. That at the time of this dynasty a proper name or two has been found of the type afterward found in the West and which we have come to call Amorite. Such, for instance, is the name Ia-ri-ili, son of Rish-zu-ni,³⁴ found on a seal of the style of this period. This evidence is confirmed by the following considerations. About 2500 B. C. we begin to find Semitic pottery in Palestine. By that time a wave of Semitic immigration had reached as far south as Gezer and it is reasonable to suppose that it was Amorite. This is confirmed by the fact that a proper name of the Amorite type, Emuenshi or Ammi-enshi, was, as we learn from an Egyptian story written before 1900 B. C.,³⁵ borne by a chieftain of the country of Kedem, to the east of the Dead Sea. It seems probable that the Semites who raided Babylonia at this time may have raided Palestine also.

It should be noted, however, that it does not follow that Sargon was an Amorite because of the likeness of *Ūri*, Agade, to *Ari*, Amorite. That likeness may be due entirely to accident. Every scholar knows that there are coincidences of spelling and sound between words of different languages, when the meaning in the two tongues is quite different. The German *Bad* and the English *bad* are spelled and sound alike, but one means a 'bath' and the other means 'not good.' Similarly it is possible that an old Sumerian place-name *Ūri* happened to coincide with a Semitic

³³ Barton, *op. cit.*, no. 316, and Langdon, *op. cit.*, 15.

³⁴ Cf. Scheil, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xiii, 5 ff., and Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 4th ed., 1925, p. 325 and Fig. 302.

³⁵ Cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records. Egypt*, i, 237 ff.

tribal name, *Âri*. The determination of the question can be made only from other evidence, if any can be found. Possibly some light may be thrown on the problem by a glance at certain broad outlines of racial history in Babylonia.

The discovery of pre-Sumerian pottery at Abu Sharain by Thompson³⁶ and Hall³⁷ in 1918 and 1919—pottery ornamented with geometrical designs like that found at Susa—and by Pumpelly at Anau, east of the Caspian Sea, indicates that the beginning of Babylonian civilization was due neither to Sumerians nor to Semites, but to another race altogether—a race of whose language we know nothing. Then came the Sumerians and overspread the country from Eridu to Ashur. They first gave Babylonia a written language. Into this fertile valley, mingling with the others, came the East Semites from Arabia. Perhaps they were in the valley before either of the other races came, but, whether their coming was before or after, they were far less civilized than the others. We first learn of their presence through Semitic idioms in Sumerian speech, and such idioms are observable as early as the reigns of Eanatum and Entemena, before 3000 B. C. These East Semites spread over a wide area; they gradually adopted the higher civilization. About 2800 B. C. inscriptions in their tongue begin to appear not only at Agade in the records of Sargon and his successors, but in that of Anubanini, king of Lulubu;³⁸ even in distant Elam Patesis³⁹ write in Semitic. A little later Lisarib,⁴⁰ king of Gutium, employs the same language. These facts show that there had been a conquest of the country by the Semites and a counter-conquest of the Semites by a higher civilization. Professor Dhorme has shown by a study of the proper names on tablets from Lagash, belonging to the dynasty of Agade, that a surprisingly large number of Semites were at that time living in that South-Babylonian city and that their names are East Semitic, not West Semitic.⁴¹ Sargon himself and his successors, when their inscriptions are not in Sumerian, wrote in Akkadian, or the East Semitic dialect.

³⁶ See *Archæologia*, xx, 104-144.

³⁷ See *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, London, 1919 and *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, viii, 241 ff., ix, 177 ff.

³⁸ Cf. Scheil, *Receuil de travaux*, xiv, 102-195.

³⁹ Morgan, *Délégation en Perse*, ii, 58.

⁴⁰ *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, iv, 406.

⁴¹ *BA*, vi, 63-88.

From these facts it would follow, either that Sargon and the people of Agade were East Semitic, or that, if West Semitic, they did not come from a people who had developed a high civilization and built up a great empire, but from barbarous, half-civilized tribes, who were compelled for the purpose of literary expression to adopt the language of the more civilized Semites whose territory they invaded. In either case the result is unfortunate for Professor Clay's theories. In the one case the evidence would prove that there was no Amorite civilization till after the time of Sargon; in the other case it proves that the Akkadian civilization was Amorite; in which case the Amorite civilization was East Semitic, so that Professor Clay's attempt to credit the West Semites with a civilization earlier than the Babylonian fails.

5. In this connection a tablet copied by Professor Chiera, which he is publishing in a volume now in press,⁴² is of interest. Professor Chiera kindly permits me to quote from his transliteration and translation of it:

hur-sag giš-ku-e tam-ma
lū uzu-dirig kūr-da mu-un-ba-al-la
dúg-gam nu-zu-ám
uzu nu-izi-gá al-kú-e
ud-ti-la-na é nu-tuku-a
tam-ma úš-a-na ki nu-tum-mu-dam
ma-la-mu ^eMAR-TU ta-ám an-tuku-un
ma-la-ga-ni ^eAD-GAR-UD-DÛG mu-n[i-ib]-gi-gi
^eMAR-[TU š]e?-ba an-tuku-tuku
ni-na-ab⁴³ lum-a lam-ma,

i. e. "For the mountaineer (i. e. the Amorite) the weapon (is his) companion. . . .

he digs the *kamunu* by the side of the mountain, he knows no submission.

he eats uncooked meat,

through his whole life he does not possess a house,

⁴² The tablet is CBM, 14061. It is published in transliteration and translation by Chiera in *Crozer Theological Seminary Babylonian Publications*, i, p. 15 ff. Chiera's opinion quoted above is expressed on p. 22 f. Professor Chiera did me the favor of permitting me to quote from advanced sheets of his book.

his dead companion he does not bury.
 (Now) Martu possesses a house(?),
 towards his house Adgaruddug turns,
 (Now) Martu possesses grain.
 O Ninah, grow luxuriantly!"

Chiera concludes his discussion of this text with these words: "However, even in recounting the good works of Martu, the writer cannot refrain from mentioning the former uncivilized condition of the Amorite people. In fact, in telling of the eating of uncooked food and the practice of not burying the dead, he goes far beyond what other Sumerian literature had told us about the Amorites. In two unpublished tablets I found the Amorites referred to as not knowing houses and cities (CBS 13904: *mar-tu e nu-zu uru-ki nu-zu*) and who did not know corn (CBS 14151: *mar-tu lu še nu-zu*), as in our tablet. Now such a description of the Amorites would be meaningless, had the Sumerians themselves not known such things.

"I am, therefore of the opinion that we have in this legend an attempt, on the part of the Amorites, to endow their own god with some of the honors that did not originally belong to him. The last lines of the legend prove, on the contrary, that the Amorites were still barbarous mountaineers when civilization was well established throughout ancient Babylonia,"—an opinion in which the present writer fully concurs.

Not only the portion here quoted, but the whole context indicates that this is a description of uncivilized Amorites. The text comes to us in a script of the time of Hammurabi, but is probably older. Whether it was first composed in the time of Sargon, or even earlier, we cannot tell. In any event it proves that Sumerian civilization was older than that of Amurru.

Our author, in his various publications, has, however, claimed to find West Semitic words in various Babylonian texts. For example, in his *Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform*, pp. 18-26, he has a list of about twenty words which he claims as West Semitic and which he says "were not in current use in Akkadian." Even if this claim be true, the argument based on these words does not hold. We simply do not know whether in the millennium 2000-3000 B. C. they were or were not in current use in Akkadian. All the Akkadian texts which we have before the time of Hammurabi

fill but a few pages and treat in a very restricted vocabulary either of conquests or votive offerings. The legal vocabulary of Hammurabi could under no circumstances exhaust the living vocabulary of a people. Moreover it is a matter of common knowledge that the vocabulary of a people changes materially even in five hundred years. The vocabulary of the time of Chaucer or of Queen Elizabeth is largely obsolete today, though many words which were in good usage in Queen Elizabeth's time, but are not used in England now, have survived in Scotland and the United States. It would be as reasonable to argue that Shakespeare was a Scotchman or an American because of this fact as to argue that a deluge story written in Babylonia in the third millennium B.C. is Hebrew because it contains Semitic roots which were in use in Hebrew, when the Old Testament was written, but which have not yet been found in the later Akkadian vocabulary. In his last book Professor Clay admits that this deluge story was not Hebrew,⁴³ and says that he meant by "Hebrew" "West Semitic" out of which Hebrew later developed, but to call these words "West Semitic" is to go farther than the evidence warrants. Our knowledge of the Akkadian vocabulary in the third millennium is very slight indeed, and the occurrence of these words in a Babylonian text of that time is presumptive evidence that they were good Akkadian words.

Similarly his claim (*Origin of Biblical Traditions*, 94 ff.) that *khubur* of *Ummu-khubur* is West Semitic is not necessarily well founded. It is altogether probable that the Akkadian *pukhru* is simply *khubur* with a metathesis of the consonants, such as often happens in Semitic;⁴⁴ that the earlier Akkadian usage was *khubur*, and that this older usage, which Akkadian shared with other Semitic languages as far removed as the Ethiopic, has been preserved in the name *Ummu-khubur*.

In reality we know absolutely nothing about the Amorite language unless Akkadian was Amorite. With the exception of proper

⁴³ *Origin of the Biblical Traditions*, p. 13. In reality the text is no more Hebrew than Ulfilas's Gothic version of the Bible was English. On pages 22 and 66 of *The Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform* it is stated that a *Waw Consecutive* or its equivalent occurs in col. iii, line 29 of this Deluge Tablet, though the use of the *me* referred to resembles the Hebrew *Waw Consecutive* in no way whatsoever.

⁴⁴ See Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, i, 267 ff.

names we have no sentence of any kind written in it.⁴⁵ Even Aziru and Arad-Ashirta, Amorite chiefs of Northern Palestine in the fourteenth century B. C., wrote their letters in Akkadian. We have inscriptions in late Canaanite and know that it was closely akin to Hebrew, but all such evidence for the Amorites is lacking, and the wise way is to confess that we do not know that their language was West Semitic. We call them West Semitic only because we first learned of their existence through the Old Testament, a West Semitic collection of books, and because many of them lived in a region where other people spoke West Semitic languages. It is nevertheless quite possible that the Amorites themselves, even when they were living in Palestine, spoke Akkadian. They certainly wrote it there. It may be said, of course, that they wrote it because it was the *lingua franca*, but what made it the *lingua franca*? That has never been adequately explained. Lugalzaggisi, a Sumerian, carried his arms to the Mediterranean; so did Sargon of Agade and Naram-Sin; so perhaps, did Hammurabi; but three or four raids into the West would not establish the language of the raiders as a *lingua franca*. Is it not probable that this tongue and its script became the language of business and diplomacy of western Asia because it was the native language of the Amorites, who were closely akin to Akkadians, for whom there was not room in Mesopotamia, and who moved westward carrying their language with them? We know that at a later time Aramaic displaced Akkadian as the language of international communication in this

⁴⁵ Luckenbill's inference that the Amorites were West Semitic (*AJSL*, 40, 3 ff.), based on Ranke's analysis of proper names of the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon, draws, it seems to me, too large a conclusion from a single datum. Such a name as *Yarbi-ilu* (Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names*, p. 30), does not necessarily imply a West Semitic form of the verb; it may equally well be a Sabaean form, kindred to the Ethiopic or the Arabic IV stem. The dialect spoken by the Amorites may have already changed the shaphel which we find in Minaean to a form with a thinned consonant, (*h*) such as we find in Sabaean, without possessing the other phenomena of West Semitic speech. If the form of the verbs in these names had really been West Semitic, we should expect to find the *i* or *e* vowel after the second radical, whereas we only find it in names of which the verb contains weak radicals. Other names have *a* and *u* vowels, as *Yasharum*, *Yashubum*. Just as we have in Minaean and Sabaean, the dialects of neighboring cities, both the *s* and *h* causative stem, so they may have existed in Akkadian and Amorite, kindred dialects.

region because Arameans were so numerous and so widely diffused that their speech was more generally understood than any other. It is altogether probable that history was then simply repeating itself, and that the Amorites, close kindred of the East Semitic Akkadians, if not identical with them, had in earlier centuries for the same reason caused their language to be generally used. If this is not the true explanation, the only alternative is that the Amorites were an altogether illiterate people, wholly dependent upon their distant kinsmen, the Akkadians, for culture. It is unthinkable that these people should have had a high civilization of their own in the West earlier than the Akkadian and then have permitted the Akkadian language to supplant their own as a medium of communication, while they continued to live in the same region. This is the dilemma: either they were East Semites, or they were uncultured. The evidence for the East Semite theory is at present the more weighty, but whichever horn of the dilemma is chosen it proves a serious obstacle to Professor Clay's hypotheses. The results of his researches which promise to be valid, so far from proving the antiquity and originality of West Semitic civilization, make it probable that that civilization contained a larger East Semitic element than we had supposed.

6. Perhaps the phase of the theory which strikes the student of the history of religion as most surprising is the contention concerning the origin of the Ishtar cult. If I understand correctly, it is that at some time in the fifth millennium B. C. there ruled at Aleppo a queen named Ashirta,⁴⁶ whose paramour was Tammuz, the king of Erech. The morals of this queen were like those of Cleopatra of Egyptian fame, if not worse; but she was very popular, was deified, and from Aleppo and Erech her worship spread over the whole Semitic world. What is the ground for this remarkable claim? It appears to be based, so far as the present writer can divine, (1) On the mention of a deity Tishpak (or Ishtar) from the land of Aleppo in a text which was probably written during the dynasty of Agade.⁴⁷ (2) On the fact that in the dynastic lists the name of Tammuz occurs in a dynasty of mythical kings of Erech,⁴⁸

⁴⁶ *Empire of the Amorites*, p. 171 ff.

⁴⁷ Barton, *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions*, no. 1, xiii, 6; cf. p. ii.

⁴⁸ Cf. Poebel, *UMBS*, v, no. 2; cf. iv, p. 88; also Langdon, *Oxford Edition of Cuneiform Inscriptions*, ii, no. 1, col. iii and p. 12.

and (3) on the further fact that in the Gilgamesh Epic Ishtar is said to have married Tammuz, and that a marital relation between them is presupposed in other myths and in hymns. All this seems to assume that the names Ashirta and Ishtar are identical, that Ashirta is the older form, that the original form of Ishtar was Ashtar or Ashdar—a West Semitic form—and that the deity and her name were introduced into Babylonia from Amurru. This hypothesis appears to the writer untenable for the following reasons:

(1) The text which speaks of the "Ishtar from Aleppo" was found at Nippur. The "Ishtar from Aleppo" was worshipped at Nippur, as the text distinctly states. There is no evidence to connect her with Erech.

(2) It has been recognized by scholars for many years ⁴⁹ that a goddess Ashirta or Ashera was worshipped by the Amorites in Palestine in the fourteenth century B. C., that her characteristics were identical with those of Astarte, with whom she was confused by some copyists of the Old Testament. Her name appears to have been developed out of the posts that figured in ancient Semitic sanctuaries and was identical in origin with that of the god Ashur of Assyria and Athirat ⁵⁰ of South Arabia. All the evidence for the existence of the goddess Ashirta comes from documents written many centuries later than the date at which the assumed Queen of Aleppo is supposed to have lived, and, in the judgment of at least one who has given no little study to religions in general and the development of Semitic religion in particular, is a development of

⁴⁹ See G. F. Moore, *Judges*, in the *Inter. Crit. Com.* on Jud. 3:7, and "Ashera" in *Encyc. Bib.*; Budde in the *New World*, 8, 734, and the writer's *Semitic Origins*, 246 ff.

⁵⁰ The evidence that Athirat was a goddess in South Arabia and the consort of the god Wadd is much stronger than it was when *Semitic Origins* was written. The Qatabanian inscription, Gl. 1600, published by Nielsen in the *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1906, p. 249 ff., interpreted in the light of Gl. 282, lines 7, 8, where the month of Athirat is similar to the month of the goddess Shams, seems to me to put the matter beyond dispute. Some Arabists have tried to make out that the word *athirat* in these inscriptions referred only to a cultus object, but such a contention results from a failure to appreciate the bearing and force of the evidence. That Athirat was a deity is certainly put beyond dispute by Gl. 1602 (Rhodokanakis, *Katabanische Texte*, p. 57 ff.), in which as the consort of the god 'Amm offerings are made to her.

much later date than the name Ishtar. Professor Clay seems to hold that the name Astarte or Ishtar is derived from Ashirta. His language is, "Metathesis could have taken place and Ashirta or Ashrat became Ashtar. Subsequently when the etymology had been lost sight of, the feminine ending could have been added, when Ashtar became Ashtartu."⁵¹

(3) In reality the names Ashirta and Ishtar come from two quite distinct Semitic roots, as the writer pointed out in the *JOURNAL* of this Society in 1911.⁵² Ashirta is from the root אִשְׁרָא, or 'atara, a root by which a sacred post was designated, both in East Semitic, West Semitic, and South Semitic. In all three regions the post was deified; among the East Semites it became the god Ashur; among the West Semites, the goddess Ashirta or Ashera; among the South Semites Athirat; but among them all the initial א was maintained. Indeed, except in late Punic inscriptions, written after contact with foreigners had brought their language to a point of decay, I have been able to find no well authenticated cases of the confusion of א and י. These two sounds were very distinct in Semitic and that distinction was clearly maintained. Even in Akkadian and Assyrian, from which both sounds had apparently disappeared, a distinct difference was maintained in the spelling of words derived from roots which contained these respective gutturals. To ask one to believe that a name beginning with א became changed in its spelling to י in Akkadian, which had lost both letters, and from there was adopted in the latter form over the whole Semitic world, taxes one's credulity. The theory violates a law of Semitic phonetics.

This theory of the identity of these two names also overlooks the fact that the name Ishtar is one of a very small class of Semitic words in which a ו has been inserted after the second radical.⁵³ If it were derived from Ashirta, the root of which is אִשְׁרָא and the ו the feminine ending, we should have to suppose, as Professor Clay does, that a metathesis had taken place between this feminine ending and the last radical of the stem—an unheard of thing in

⁵¹ *Empire of the Amorites*, p. 174.

⁵² Vol. 31, p. 355 ff.

⁵³ The writer has treated the matter fully in *Hebraica*, 10, 1893, pp. 69-71; *Semitic Origins*, 1902, p. 102 ff. and "The Etymology of Ishtar," *JAOS*, 31, 1911, pp. 355-359.

Semitic Grammar—and that then this West Semitic word, which had lost its feminine ending in this way, and had had its initial א changed to ע, was taken back in this transformed fashion into its own West Semitic territory again in the name 'Astarte and given an additional ך as another feminine ending. Ashirta and Ishtar come from different roots (אשר ('tr) and 'šr) and belong to altogether distinct norms of noun formation.

(4) It is claimed that in early forms of Babylonian writing the name Ishtar is often written *Aš-tar*; in particular that the name of a Semitic king of Kish, who ruled shortly before the time of Sargon of Agade, was written *En-bi-Aš-tar*.⁵⁴ The present writer is sceptical as to any occurrence of the name of the goddess in early Babylonian inscriptions which can properly be read *Aš-tar*, and he is particularly sceptical of the propriety of so reading the ideogram by which the name of the goddess in the name *En-bi-Ishtar* is designated.⁵⁵ However, were we to grant the legitimacy of the reading *aš-tar* or *aš-dar*, that would not prove the name of the goddess to be of West Semitic origin. It would indicate no more than that we have here the primitive Semitic spelling, not yet affected by later Akkadian peculiarities. The Arabic form of the name is 'athtar and the Ethiopic form, 'astar; one could accordingly as plausibly infer from a spelling *aš-tar* a South Semitic as a West Semitic origin.

(5) The theory that Tammuz and Ishtar were sovereigns who were deified overlooks the palpable distinction between myth and history.⁵⁶ Every historian, whether he deals with the secular or

⁵⁴ *Empire of the Amorites*, p. 172.

⁵⁵ For the sign see Thureau-Dangin, *Récherches sur l'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme*, no. 543 and the writer's *Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing*, no. 371.

⁵⁶ A good example of the misleading character of our author's treatment of mythical material is his assumption (*Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform*, p. 44 ff.), among many other assumptions of a kindred nature, that Tammuz is a historical person because a text translated by Zimmern says that his mother's name was Zertu (or Sirdu). He further infers that Tammuz was Semitic because Zertu is Semitic. While in the context he recognizes that Tammuz was a god of vegetation, he does not perceive that *zer* (or *zir*, if this reading is right, of which there is doubt) is the Akkadian *ziru*, "seed" (Hebrew זר), and that the myth is a statement that vegetation is born of a seed. One would have thought that the subsequent statement, which is quoted in the same work, p. 46, that Tammuz

the religious history of an ancient people, knows that the beginnings of that history are shrouded in myth, and that, while it is sometimes hard to draw the line accurately between the two, by experience he learns to do it with tolerable surety. There are certain broad principles which can be discerned. One of these is that when reigns upon the earth are assigned to deities, one may be sure that he is dealing with myth, not history. Another is that when excessively long reigns are assigned to monarchs, the narrative is partly, if not altogether mythical. Thus we have no difficulty in perceiving that the reigns assigned to Kronos and Zeus in Hesiod's *Works and Days* during the ages of gold, silver, and bronze are purely mythical. Similarly we recognize at once as mythical the Tien-huang or "heavenly emperors" at the beginning of the Imperial lists of China, "thirteen brothers, each of whom reigned 18,000 years," as well as the Ti-huang or "terrestrial emperors" who followed them; also the Jön-huang or "human emperors" who were nine brothers, who were followed by the Wu-lung or "five dragons"; the thirteen families of Yin-ti or "nest-builders" and the Sui-jön, or "fire-producers."⁵⁷

No serious scholar now thinks of these names as other than mythical. The names in this so-called dynasty of Kish are of the same order. Zugagub, the scorpion, who ruled 849 years; Galumun, the lamb, who ruled 900 years; Etana, the shepherd who went to heaven, who ruled 635 years; Enmenuna, the exalted hero, who ruled 900 years; Lugalbanda, the shepherd, who ruled 1200 years; Tammuz, the hunter, who ruled 100 years, and the rest—it takes no argument to prove that these are all mythical. To think otherwise is to ignore the well-known working of the mind of early man as we now know it from many parts of the world.

(6) Again this theory proposes an origin for the Semitic Ishtar cult that is contrary to the workings of the mind of man in early religions. It supposes that the deified sovereigns of one tribe of Semites were adopted as deities by all other tribes of Semites in

was born under a tree, would have given him a clue to the correct interpretation, as it is natural that seed which falls from trees should sprout under a tree. One familiar with the ways of myth-makers could not for a moment regard these statements as history.

⁵⁷ See F. Hirth, *Ancient History of China*, 1911, p. 329 and E. T. C. Werner, *Myths and Legends of China*, 1922.

pre-historic time. Primitive religions neither originated nor spread in that way. Men were everywhere animistic. A tribe worshipped the principal spirit of its habitat. As small sections of the tribe migrated to other centres they carried that worship with them, grafting it on to the worship of the spirits where they settled, but usually keeping the old name by which they had called the spirit in their ancestral dwelling place. Ishtar—a name common to the whole Semitic world—is the one divine name that has survived from the primitive Semitic cradle-land, which, as we have seen, cannot have been Amurru. The name is much older than the time represented by this mythical dynasty. To suppose that the Amorites, living in one corner of the Semitic field, imposed their religion on all the other Semitic tribes at that stage of the world's history, without conquest, is contrary to all analogy. The only possible parallel to such a supposition would be the spread of the cult of the Virgin over western Europe, but the circumstances there were very different. Old religions were decaying; a new and higher civilization was sweeping the country as the new religion, Christianity, came in. The cult of the Virgin was welcomed as she supplied the place of the goddesses previously worshipped. No well-informed person can think that there was any parallel to this in the Semitic world of the fourth or fifth millennium B. C.

(7) A final reason for thinking that this mythological dynasty did not reign at Aleppo is that the Semites, whether Amorites or others, appear not to have obtained possession of the place until after the reign of Rimush, the son of Sargon, the founder of the dynasty of Agade. At least its Patesi in the reign of Rimush seems to have borne the Sumerian name Lugal-ushum-gal,⁵⁸ although the end of the name is broken off. We are compelled to conclude, therefore, that this theory is negated by all the evidence available.

7. The last point that we shall notice is the claim that the traditions at the beginning of the book of Genesis were not borrowed by the Hebrews from Babylonia and did not originate in Mesopotamia, but are many of them native to Amurru.

If the points already discussed have established any valid conclusions, it might seem unnecessary to discuss this claim. It seems

⁵⁸ See *UMBS*, v, no. 34, col. xxii and iv, p. 196.

best, however, to devote a little space to it, as some points are involved that have not yet been touched upon.

It should be noticed at the beginning that in his discussion of these traditions Professor Clay has brought to light some points hitherto overlooked, which put some phases of the traditions in new perspective and which must be welcome to all seekers after truth. These points, however, cannot be discussed here.

His contention for the Amorite origin of these stories rests on what he styles a "four-fold argument": 1. That the Amorites were not influenced either by Egyptian civilization or by Babylonian, but they, on the contrary influenced both that of Egypt and Babylonia; 2. An argument from climate; 3. From the names of deities and persons; and 4. From linguistic and stylistic considerations. These arguments cannot here be followed into all the devious ways whither they wind in Professor Clay's *Origin of the Biblical Traditions*, but the nature of some of them must be pointed out.

One may grant on the authority of Professor W. Max Müller that the Babylonian creation myth influenced the Egyptians and that it was carried thither by Amorites; that is all very probable, for we have archæological evidence that Amorites were at Gezer on the border of Egypt about 2500 B. C.

That does not prove that they originated the traditions. The claim that the Amorites were not influenced by the Babylonians, but influenced them has, I think, already been disproved in our previous discussion. If linguistic evidence has any weight at all, the Amorites were East Semites and not West Semites. It is a fallacy to assume that they were West Semites because we first learned of them in the West. Amorite names in the West are, however, evidence of Babylonian or East Semitic influence in the West, and not *vice versa*. Considerable evidence has been offered on that point; more will be offered soon. The same is true of the names of deities, Nisaba, Dagan, Khani, Adad, Nabu. If they are Amorite—and in the case of Dagan, Adad and Nisaba the names are Amorite or Akkadian, they were carried from the East to the West. Nisaba was, so far as we know, unknown in the West. Nabu is an Akkadian deity who was carried to more than one point in the West. The attempt to make him a West Semitic deity, because his name is found in two place-names besides Mount Nebo in Palestine, while it is only found in Babylonia as the name of a

god at Borsippa, appears to me to misconceive the bearing of the facts. Apparently the name was attached to Palestinian localities because of the existence at these places of shrines of this god. Such a place would be called in Akkadian Bit-Nabu and in Hebrew Beth-Nebo. Those who have visited Mount Nebo will remember that there are two sacred cairns on the mountain, one half-way up and one at the top.⁵⁹ In the lapse of time the element *beth* was omitted from the name and only Nebo remained. If it occurred as the name of but one place in the West, historical analogy might be urged in favor of the view that the West was his home; but two places spoil the argument. If our author's inferences were sound, we could prove that Ireland was settled from the North American continent, because there are fifteen Dublins in the United States and Canada and only one in Ireland; *a fortiori* we could prove that England had been settled from these two American countries, because they contain no less than twenty-two Yorks while England has only one! Moreover, the god Nabu can be traced in Babylonia in the time of Hammurabi,⁶⁰ several hundred years earlier than any of these names can be traced in Palestine. Jastrow supposed⁶¹ that that monarch tried to suppress his worship in favor of that of Marduk. It would seem not improbable that some influence of this sort restrained the worship of Nabu in Babylonia as it did not become generally popular until the late Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods. The mythological connections of Nabu seem to link him with Lagash in early Babylonian times,⁶² and his Semitic name Nabu was often expressed by the Sumerian ideogram ⁴PA, an abbreviation of ⁴PA-SAG, "Chief-divine-scribe," a deity whose worship is traceable at Lagash from 3000 to 2500 B. C. His name was also sometimes designated by the ideogram ⁴AG, the ideogram of a Sumerian deity traceable in the recently published tablets from Fara,⁶³ the date of which is probably as early as 3200 B. C. What connection with these places these facts may indicate, we cannot now tell, though it is probable that in some way Nabu fell

⁵⁹ See Barton, *A Year's Wandering in Bible Lands*, illustration opp. p. 143.

⁶⁰ See references in King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, 3, p. 328.

⁶¹ *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 125 ff. (German ed. 1, 119).

⁶² See the writer's *Sketch of Semitic Origins*, pp. 210-212.

⁶³ See Deimal's *Wirtschaftstexte aus Fara*, p. 26 (index) for references.

heir to the functions of these earlier gods. That he was in Babylonia before the time of Hammurabi is clear. He may have been carried thither by Amorites, but it may have been by their kinsmen the Akkadians.

Amorites may have conquered Babylonia, but they did not apparently invade it from the West Semitic world. They were East Semites and did not migrate to the West Semitic lands until Babylonia was over-crowded and it was necessary to seek new outlets. The inference that men would not migrate from the region of the rich alluvium to the less fertile regions of the West, overlooks the fact that such migrations are continually being made from over-crowded centres of population. Our own alkali deserts have been peopled, irrigated, and redeemed through economic necessity created in that way. Disastrous wars also force such migrations. Thus Jews migrated from Palestine to parts of Arabia after the unsuccessful rebellion of Bar Cochaba, 132-135 A. D.

In his use of the argument from climate, Professor Clay has rightly called attention to a mistake which several Assyriologists, who had never been in Babylonia, had made—a mistake which the present writer had noticed long ago—viz.: the error of thinking that the overflow of the rivers and the rainy season both came in the winter. The rainy season is the winter and the overflow of the rivers takes place in the spring and summer. I think Clay is, however, too confident that the present scanty rainfall can be used as a hard and fast rule for ancient times. The whole desert and oasis region from Persia right across Arabia and North Africa was, in late geologic time, well watered, and it is not easy to tell just when the present arid period began. The cutting off of all trees also affects the rainfall, so that it may have been greater in ancient times, when extensive palm-orchards filled the alluvium, than now. However, Professor Clay's general statement with reference to climate and weather conditions in Babylonia is undoubtedly true, and Zimmern and others have doubtless tried to rationalize the creation myth into too close a reflection of the yearly succession of seasons. This fact does not, however, disprove the Babylonian origin of the creation myth nor even make such origin doubtful. The yearly overflow of the rivers creates all the conditions of struggle with an inland sea necessary to keep vividly in mind the fact that the sea had to be overcome, hedged in, dyked, and barred

before arable land could be obtained to cultivate. Winter brought thunderstorms and winds⁶⁴—the natural weapons of a god in a fight. It was not difficult, in developing a poetic story, to put the two together. The only error of the explainers of the myth is their supposition that all its elements must occur in one season of the year. When we turn to Amurru, it is impossible to find a single natural condition to suggest the myth to the human mind. The sea there is never a menace and there is absolutely nothing to suggest that it had to be conquered before land could be formed.

In applying his knowledge of climate to the deluge story, Professor Clay seems to aim a more deadly blow to its Babylonian origin, for the Babylonian account of that expressly states that it was caused by rain and in Babylonia it rains only in winter and then the average rainfall is but two or three inches. If, however, in primitive times an unusually heavy rain occurred in March, when the Tigris begins to rise, such as Peters witnessed in 1889,⁶⁴ and this rain was followed by a summer of disastrously high water, it would be sufficient to give rise to the story that the deluge was caused by rain. Modern climatic conditions, therefore, fully account for the Babylonian origin of the story.

Pinches had claimed as evidence of the Babylonian origin of the story the fact that the Babylonian ark was smeared within and without with bitumen, but Clay says bitumen is only found at Hit and Hit was in Amurru!⁶⁵ If Amurru is moved to within a few miles of the beginnings of Babylonia, all argument becomes absurd. If Amurru is on the Euphrates, all arguments against a Babylonian origin are also arguments against an Amorite origin. If this is not true, then we have a case analogous to Homer not being written by Homer, but by another man of the same name! The claim that the mention of the fig tree in one of the earlier versions of the Deluge proves its Amorite origin, because the fig is not indigenous to the Babylonian alluvium⁶⁶ but is indigenous to Palestine and Syria, appears to be based on the fact that the fig did not enter extensively into commerce in Babylonia. It is a mistake, however, to think that it was unknown there. In the time of Gudea it was

⁶⁴ See Peters, *Nippur*, 1, 258 ff., where one that occurred on March 18th is described—a time after the Tigris has begun to rise.

⁶⁵ *Origin of the Biblical Traditions*, p. 164.

⁶⁶ *Origin of the Biblical Traditions*, pp. 176-178.

not only known, but apparently cultivated, for at the dedication of the temple Eninnu, after it was rebuilt, Gudea brought for the offering to the god "honey, butter, wine, milk, grain, olive-oil and figs . . . dates, and grapes."⁶⁷ Since the offerings to these local gods consisted of products of the region, we are compelled to regard the fig as one of these products.

Again, among the offerings at Gudea's dedication of the temple of the goddess Bau, we find "fig-tree birds" listed.⁶⁸ These were, perhaps, fig-cakes⁶⁹ made in the form of birds. However this may be, the mention of figs in Cylinder B definitely testifies to the presence of the fig in Babylonia. It seems never to have been extensively cultivated there but was, apparently, a delicacy and, as such, was offered in sacrifice to the gods.

A closer examination of the reference to figs in the Deluge tablet reveals the fact that that text presupposes just these conditions. The tablet opens with the statement that estrangement had occurred between men and their god. "From their assemblage the god was absent." Later it is said: "In their assemblage he spoke of desolations: 'Let the fig tree for the people be cut off; may their bellies let the plant be wanting.'"⁷⁰ A little further on it is related that the grain crop was cut off. Now neither in Palestine nor in Babylonia is the fig the chief article of diet; in both countries grain is the staff of life. The conditions presupposed in this Deluge text seem to me clearly to be these: Men have forsaken their god and are consuming the figs, a delicacy that should have

⁶⁷ See Cylinder B, iii, 18-21.

⁶⁸ See Statue E, v, 12, and vii, 26.

⁶⁹ The ideogram *gišMA* in such connections designated not the fig tree, or the wood of a fig tree, but figs. Cf. *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkoi*, v, no. 1, ii, 24, where *gišMA* is offered to gods along with bread, ZIZ-grain, and cheese. Further on in the same text (35, 36) *gišMA* is replaced by *gišIN-BI*, "fruits," which are put into baskets. Cf. also the note on p. 54 of Sommer's *Das hethitische Ritual des Papanikri von Komana*, Leipzig, 1924. The fig-cakes which Gudea offered to the goddess Bau are probably similar to those offered centuries later in Palestine to a kindred goddess (Jer. 7: 18), but the fig flourishes also in South Arabia (Zwemer, *Arabia the Cradle of Islam*, p. 57 and P. W. Harrison, *The Arab at Home*, p. 50), where it is as much at home as in Palestine, and doubtless the use of fig-cakes in the cult of the goddess was brought from Arabia, the Semitic cradle-land, and formed a feature of that worship in all the countries into which Semites migrated.

⁷⁰ *A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform*, pp. 15 ff. and 58 ff.

been offered to deity. As a punishment the figs of which they were robbing the god were first taken away, then the grain, their own normal sustenance, was cut off. This picture of events is thoroughly in harmony with Babylonian conditions as they are revealed to us by Gudea, so that the necessity for supposing a Syrian background to the text disappears. The archaic form *teina*, instead of the later *tittu*, is more adequately explained as old Akkadian than as Hebrew.⁷¹ If Amurru is kept where it was situated, when Professor Clay first began to write about it, its physical conditions are such as to preclude the possibility that the flood story originated in it. Professor Clay apparently realizes this, and does not try to connect the origin of the story with the Lebanon region, but suggests a Central Asiatic origin.

In discussing the origin of the story of the Garden of Eden, the author has seemingly an easier task, for the parallels hitherto found in Babylonian literature to that story are by no means as close as those to the accounts of the Creation and Deluge. He passes in review the different Babylonian parallels to Eden and the Fall of Man which different scholars have thought they found and, as we should expect, finds them all unconvincing. The statement of Ezekiel that Tyre was in "Eden, the garden of God" (Eze. 28: 13) and Amos's intimation that Damascus held the sceptre of the "house of Eden" lead him to say: "Certainly the Amorites or Hebrews never thought of placing the Garden of Eden in 'the plain of Shinar.'" ⁷² The opinion of Sir William Wilcocks, who has worked in Babylonia as an engineer, that civilization could not have originated in the lower alluvium, but might have originated on the Euphrates above Hit, appears to our author as establishing the probability that Eden was in Amurru. "It was," he says, "from this land that the Semites moved into the alluvium when it was ready to receive man."

Does this reading of the evidence do justice to the facts? It does not seem to the present writer that it does. Take for example

⁷¹ For the fig in later Babylonian ritual, cf. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der babylonischen Religion*, no. 60, 13, and Boissier, *Documents assyriens relatifs aux présages*, 84, 25; and 269, 8; also his *Choix de textes relatifs à la divination assyro-babylonienne*, i, 255 and ii, 35, 1, 59, 2; also Meissner, *SAG*, no. 4837.

⁷² *Origin of the Biblical Traditions*, p. 116.

the evidence of Ezekiel: that prophet in enumerating the places with which Tyre had traded mentions (Eze. 27: 23) Haran, Canneh (a slightly corrupted form of the name Calneh), Eden, and the traffickers of Sheba. Now in Gen. 10: 10 (J^s) Calneh is said to have been one of the principal cities of Shinar, being classed with Babylon, Erech, and Accad (Agade). Calneh was, then, in the alluvium and in the enumeration of Ezekiel, he starts at Harran and brings Eden in between Calneh and Sheba just where the southern part of the alluvium lies. That we have not been able to identify Calneh with any Babylonian city thus far excavated, does not weaken the force of this fact.⁷³ There seems, then, no escape from the conclusion that Ezekiel referred to the southern part of the Babylonian alluvium as Eden, a word which as *edin* or *edinnu* he heard the Babylonians using continually. Here is one Hebrew who thought of Eden as in the alluvium.⁷⁴

It has also long seemed to the present writer that the author of Gen. 2: 10 ff. (J^s) held the same belief. The passage in which he describes the Garden of Eden and the rivers which issue out of it is notoriously difficult of interpretation, but a part of the difficulties which scholars have encountered have arisen because they attributed too exact geographical knowledge to a writer who lived in Palestine far from the great rivers. One point is, however, certainly clear: the writer believed the Garden of Eden to have been within the neighborhood of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Gunkel and Skinner (*Genesis*, ad. loc.) think he placed Eden in Armenia near the sources of the rivers, because he says they "went out," יצאו, from the Garden, and יצא is employed of the rise of a stream at its source, as in Ex. 17: 6; Nu. 20: 11; Eze. 47: 1. It might with equal force be argued, however, from the language of the passage that the Garden was at the confluence of the rivers,

⁷³ The Targum, Eusebius and Jerome identified Calneh with Ctesiphon; the Talmud (Yoma 10a), with Nippur; (cf. Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 346); modern scholars, with the Sumerian Kal-unu, called by Akkadians Zirlaba or Zarilab—a city which Pinches thinks to be near Erech and Johns near Babylon. However ignorant of its exact location we may be, Ezekiel and J^s knew that it was in Babylonia.

⁷⁴ W. R. Harper (*Amos and Hosea in ICC*, p. 20) and others identify Ezekiel's Eden with Bit-Adini on the Euphrates mentioned in the Assyrian royal annals. Geographically Bit-Adini does not fit, and the initial "a" of Adini is a phonetic stumbling block.

since they are said to separate themselves (יִפְרֹד) and become four heads (רִאשִׁים), i. e. beginnings or sources (cf. Isa. 49:21; 44:4, 26; Prov. 8:26). In other words the author may have intended to suggest that in thought he was following the rivers from the Garden up to their beginnings or sources, since he distinctly places the sources outside the Garden. Other commentators have taken views similar to those of Gunkel and Skinner, but all have found difficulty in identifying the rivers Pishon and Gihon. Several have thought that by Gihon the author meant the Nile, because he says it compassed the whole land of Cush; others (as e. g. Dillmann) have suggested that by the Pishon he referred to the Indus or Ganges. It is very improbable, as Holzinger has noted, that any Hebrew writer possessed any knowledge of India seven or eight centuries before Christ. Assyriologists have understood that the J supplementer intended to place Eden in Babylonia: thus Delitzsch (*Paradies*) identified the Pishon and Gihon with canals in northern Babylonia; Jensen (*Kosmologie*) laid emphasis on the fact that the Babylonian Paradise was on an island "at the mouth of the rivers," while Haupt (*Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, 1894), by comparing the Biblical writer's statements with ancient Assyrian and mediæval Arabic maps, reaches the conclusion that by the Pishon the Persian Gulf and Red Sea were meant, and by the Gihon, the Nile. In the judgment of the present writer this view is correct. The ancients had but the vaguest notions of the geography of distant regions. Thus Alexander the Great thought, when he came to the Indus, that he had reached the upper courses of the Nile (cf. Arrian, iv, 1; Strabo, § 696). Most modern interpreters attribute to the ancients a far more accurate geographical knowledge than they possessed.

Leaving out of account, then, the Gihon, we easily identify the Pishon with the Persian Gulf and Red Sea because it "flows around the whole land of Havilah" (the Arabic *haulân*, a region of south-west Arabia), a Biblical name for South Arabia (Gen. 25:18). The writer in Genesis clearly intended to place Eden where the Tigris, Euphrates and the Persian Gulf come together, viz.: in southern Babylonia. There is certainly no spot in Amurru which fits this terminology. This location of Eden is confirmed by Gen. 11:2, which says that before building the Tower of Babel united

humanity journeyed "from the east."⁷⁵ As the Persian Gulf was called "the lower sea where the sun rises," i. e. the eastern sea, men, in journeying from Southern Babylonia to Babylon would naturally be said to journey "from the east." Here, then, are two Hebrews who thought of placing Eden in the 'plain of Shinar.'

Amos's reference to Eden is not so easy to understand; he may have intended a locality near Damascus (Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, p. 18), or his words may be simply figurative. Damascus is a splendid oasis. Arabic writers in later time have often compared it to Paradise. Is it not possible that Amos was anticipating them? That he did not intend to be taken literally, but was speaking in metaphor? Our author says: "It would be difficult to understand how any intelligent resident of Western Asia could accept the idea that man first lived in the alluvium. With the evidence everywhere in sight of his colossal doings, in his efforts to harness the two rivers, it is inconceivable that the ancient could satisfy himself that this had been Paradise and that primeval man lived there. It is difficult to conceive how even an intelligent Babylonian could have come to such belief."⁷⁶ The author of these sentences appears to have overlooked the fact that in the sixth tablet of the Babylonian Creation Epic,⁷⁷ which was recovered by Dr. Andrae at Ashur, we are told in lines 1-26 how Ea created mankind and in lines 27-60 how the first dwelling of men and gods was established at Babylon. The description furnishes, at a number of points, parallels to Genesis: a garden is mentioned, and there are "watchers" who remind one of the cherubim. True, the garden according to this account contains a great temple with its ziggurat which "touches the celestial ocean"—a feature which corresponds to the Tower of Babel in Genesis 11:2. Whether the story of Paradise in Genesis has any connection with the passage

⁷⁵ The Hebrew is מִמֶּזְרָח, literally, "from the east." RV translates it "east," apparently because the same expression occurs in Gen. 13:11, where the context seems to require that it be translated "east." Every Hebraist knows, however, that the normal meaning of the preposition מִן is "from," and that in the great majority of its occurrences in the O. T. it has that meaning. It is safe to assume therefore that it means "from" wherever the context does not plainly require another meaning.

⁷⁶ *Origin of the Biblical Traditions*, p. 116.

⁷⁷ For translations see the 4th edition of *Archæology and the Bible* or Langdon's *Babylonian Epic of Creation*.

or not, the lines show that an "intelligent Babylonian" as well as two Hebrews held the belief that Paradise was in the "plain of Shinar." Those who copied, read, and believed this myth constituted a great multitude who entertained the same belief.

There were in Babylonian mythology several conceptions of Paradise. One of these represented it as a mountain. It has been thought by some that Ezekiel, who wrote in Babylonia, was influenced by more than one of these Babylonian myths.⁷⁸

However this may be, the present writer has long thought that there are traceable both in some of the Babylonian and in some of the Biblical conceptions of Paradise older ideas. The tree with its fruit and its primitive society seem to go back to a pre-Babylonian Arabian oasis life.⁷⁹ In some of the Babylonian descriptions of Paradise there are also, doubtless, conceptions which the Sumerians brought into the country from their earlier home. The writer holds, however, no brief for either of these views: he is only desirous of discovering the truth, and, to that end, asks of himself and others that all evidence be fairly treated, and that the conclusions reached be dictated by the evidence. The evidence, when so treated, does not seem to support the conclusions Professor Clay draws from Babylonian climate.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ See Skinner, *Genesis*, p. 57 ff.

⁷⁹ *Semitic Origins*, p. 96.

⁸⁰ A plausible argument could be made in favor of the thesis that the author of Genesis 2: 10 ff. was preserving in his description of the location of the Garden of Eden (גן עדן) a traditional memory of Gu-edin, the field which plays such a prominent part in the history of the city of Lagash from 3200 to 2450 B.C. That field is frequently called the *gan* which was beloved of the God Ningirsu—*gan*, being the same Semitic word as the Hebrew גן. For this reason the Gu-edin might easily become in the tradition Gan-edin. The river Pishon could plausibly be derived from Pasir, the name of a canal and pool mentioned by Entemena (Alabaster Tablet iv, 7) by supposing that the *r* of Pasir had been changed into the corresponding liquid *n*. Gihon (גִּיחֹן) might easily be a corruption of Gfr-nun, part of the Sumerian name of a canal at Lagash often called Lum-ma-gfr-nun-ta (as e. g. Entemena, Cone A iii, 20; v, 9, 10; Cone B v, 12, 32, 33). At Lagash, too, there was a sacred forest that would correspond to "the tree in the midst of the garden" (Entemena, Alabaster Tablet v, 4; Doorsocket F, 28; Urkagina, Lament, ii, 12). All the elements of Eden are present, so far as physical characteristics are concerned, and all the names of physical objects. Only Adam, Eve, the serpent and the Fall are lacking. Even these are possibly present by implication, for the

His argument from divine names has already been sufficiently treated. There is no evidence that divine names common to Babylonia and the West were current in the West before they were current in Babylonia. It is pure assumption to say that they were. Such linguistic evidence as we have, as has been said above, points to the opposite conclusion.

With reference to our author's last argument from literary and linguistic considerations, two or three things should be said.

(1) The attempt to secure an etymology for the Sumerian word *apsu* from the Hebrew **עֵדֶן**, and especially from late post-exilic uses of **עֵדֶן** in Proverbs and Maccabean Psalms, and on the basis of this to explain *apsu* as a West Semitic loan word in Babylonia, meaning "end," "extremity," "boundary," will probably convince no one. *Apsu* is applied in Sumerian, as many passages show, to "the subterranean waters." It occurs in the inscriptions of Ur-nina in the sense of "reservoir" or "pool."⁸¹ Eannatum employs it of the subterranean waters. He calls the god Tammuz (the god of vegetation) *dumu-zi-zu-ab*—"Tammuz of the Deep." The name Tammuz means "son of life" or "living son." *Ab-zu* or *Zu-ab* means "wise father" or "great father." The combination is partly Semitic and partly Sumerian. The Sumerian word for father is *ad*; *ab* is Semitic. This combined phrase *ab-zu* is evidence of the mixed character of the population of Lagash at the end of the fourth millennium B. C. The phrase *dumu-zi-zu-ab* graphically describes vegetation as the child of subterranean moisture. Thus the "waters under the earth" came to be regarded by the Babylonians as a "great" or a "wise" father of vegetation personified in Tammuz. Doubtless it was this thought, thus associated with the "waters under the earth," which led Babylonians later, when they came to compose through childlike reflection a myth to explain the origin of the world, to represent *Apsu* as the male pro-

grain of Gán-edin was fruit forbidden to the men of Umma, their god Shara tempted them to take it, Ningirsu was angry, and cast them out of Gán-edin. Thereupon a boundary-ditch, a stele, and emblems of the gods were called into existence, like Cherubim, to keep them out. If such coincidences, or half their number, could be found in Amurru, would it not be regarded as proved that the Garden of Eden was of West Semitic and Amorite origin?

⁸¹ See Tablets B. D. and E. In his "Family Group II," he calls it *Zu-ab-ban-da*, "the little abyss."

genitor of all things, gods and men, just as they represented *Tiamat* as the primal mother. Thus here on Babylonian soil we have a complete and satisfactory account of the origin of this word and of the part Apsu plays in the creation epic. As he was still the "waters under the earth," of course the dwellings of gods and men were constructed on his body. Whether this *apsu* has any connection with the Hebrew אֲפְסוּ, is more than doubtful. The root of אֲפְסוּ seems not to occur in the other Semitic languages. Jewish Rabbis sometimes took it for the Greek *ἄψες*!⁸² Its meanings in Hebrew, where it is frequently employed as a synonym for the substantive-negative verb אֵין (e. g. in Isa. 41:12), make it difficult to suppose that it has any connection with *apsu*. It is probably an off-shoot by metathesis of the root אָפַס, Assyrian *asāpu* = Arabic *'sf*, meaning "gather" in Hebrew and Assyrian, but "sad" in Arabic. In any event, if it is in any way connected with *apsu*, we may be very sure the borrowing was from east to west and not from west to east.

Again, with reference to the word *mummu* in the creation epic, Professor Clay commends the rendering "roaring" given to the word by Smith, Delitzsch, Dhorme, and myself, adding that it comes from the root הוּם "to murmur, roar," which he adds is Hebrew and is not used in Babylonian. In reality it can be shown that the root הוּם or הָמָה is probably primitive Semitic, that *Tiamat*, *tamtu*, and תַּהוּם are derived from it, and that when derivatives of it appear in cuneiform they are not "Hebrew words in cuneiform." To derive these words from the root תַּהוּם, *as*, following Delitzsch and Jensen I once did,⁸³ is unsatisfactory as תַּהוּם means desert, "waste." To derive it, however, from הוּם or הָמָה by means of a prefixed ת—a common Semitic noun formation—thus making *Tiamat* and *tamtu* "the roarer," is much more satisfactory. Hoffmann has pointed out⁸⁴ that the Red Sea littoral is in Arabic called *Tihāmat*. The word was probably employed, therefore, in a similar sense in Arabic—a fact which shows it to have been primitive Semitic, since it survived in both the eastern, western, and southern divisions of the Semitic people.

⁸² See Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Talmud*, 106.

⁸³ *JAOS*, 15 (1890), p. 2.

⁸⁴ *ZATW*, 3, 118.

This being the case, its participle, *mummu*, was not borrowed by the Babylonians from the West, but was native to early Akkadian speech. Though it became obsolete afterward, just as many words used in the language of the time of Alfred the Great are no longer employed in England, it has survived to later time in the archaism of the creation poem and in the common Akkadian word *tamtu*.

In conclusion, the situation, as it appears to me, may be briefly summarized as follows. Professor Clay's Amurru-hypothesis is based partly on unproved assumptions and partly on mistaken interpretations of many minute details. His assumptions are 1. that the Amorites were West Semitic; 2. that the Akkadian of the time of Hammurabi and later gives us a full knowledge of the Akkadian of early times. His wrong emphasis leads him to build on small details without reference to the broader considerations by which these details should be interpreted. When so interpreted, the details which he has accumulated assume an important part in a whole that is very different from the one conceived by him. Thus he has, I think, made it probable that some East Semitic words, which became obsolete in later Akkadian, survived in the West. His extensive study of proper names has added much to our knowledge. It is clear, I think, that there is a type of proper name that can probably be called Amorite which differs from the Akkadian type. It is this fact which leads me, in connection with other evidence already set forth in this article, to believe that the Amorites were not identical with the Akkadians, but were their East Semitic kinsmen, who, about 2800 B. C. began to pour out from the Arabian desert, a semi-barbarous horde, and to try to gain a foothold in Babylonia. Some few of them did so, but the rest, being unable, swept westward, occupying the land between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, surging on to the borders of Egypt. Speaking a dialect closely akin to Akkadian, on account of frequent intercourse between Amorites in Babylonia and those in the West, Amorites in the West adopted the Akkadian system of writing, which they distributed over the West and mediated to the Hittites.

About 1800 B. C. the Canaanites, who spoke a West Semitic language, began to pour into the country. These in turn, between 1400 and 1300, were followed by the Arameans. Much as I dislike to differ from one with whom I have been so long and so intimately

associated, such seem to me to be the necessary inferences from the facts as at present known to us.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Since this article was completed Professor Sayce's "Who were the Amorites?" in the September number of *Ancient Egypt* has appeared. Sayce reads the name Harri, by which some Indo-European kinsfolk of the Mitanni who lived in the region of Harran were designated, Murri, identifies these Murri with the Amorites, and argues that the Amorites were Indo-Europeans. It is quite true that the sign which has been read *har* has also the value of *mur*, and doubtless many Indo-Europeans were mingled with the Amorites in Palestine, but Sayce's argument, like Clay's, rests too exclusively upon merely possible nominal equivalences to be convincing. It also leaves entirely unexplained the large number of proper names in Babylonia and elsewhere which do not conform to the Akkadian type, as well as the elements in these names, which appear to connect the people with South Arabia. Like so much of the work of this veteran scholar, the paper is original, suggestive, and stimulating; it does not, however, convince. If it should eventually prove to be on the right track, it would prove that the Amorites were not West Semitic! The deity Dagan would be a Mittanian earth-deity, *degan* (Gen. *dagnas*), being the Mittanian word for "earth"; cf. Forrer in *ZDMG*, 76, 206. A Hittite origin of the name is by no means necessary, since a thoroughly good Semitic explanation of the name is equally possible. In Arabic *dajana* means "be cloudy," "rainy," and *dajn* "plenteous rain," "cloudy sky," "mist," while in Hebrew *dagan* means "corn" or "grain," and in New Hebrew the verb means "heap up." The Hebrew meanings are doubtless special developments. Dagan may well have been a Semitic name for the rain god—another name for Hadad, Adad, Ramman. Since the weather god was such a prominent Semitic deity, a Semitic origin for Dagan seems far more probable than a Hittite origin.

WORDS OF DEFAMATION IN SANSKRIT LEGAL LANGUAGE

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GREEK AND GOTHIC words show that Vedic and legal *nid*, *nind*, 'revile,' was an Indo-European word and probably indicate a fairly ancient custom.¹ Some of the oldest pre-legal rules have to do with defamatory expressions. Compare AV. 4, 36, 1, *yó no durasyád dípsāc ca*, 'whoso shall abuse or seek to harm us'; TS. 2, 6, 10, 2, *brāhmaṇāya ná 'pagureta ná ní hanyāt*, 'one should not abuse nor injure a Brahman'; and the rules against 'rough,' *paraṣa*, language incorporated into the codes from the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa or some similar collection (SVB. 1, 5, 6, 9; M. 11, 204; Yāj. 3, 292, the penance for grunting at or saying 'thou' to a priest). A word may thus be defamatory because, though innocent in itself, it is misapplied. Also a word legitimately describing a person, is in law, if maliciously employed, a slanderous defamation:

*patitaṃ patitety uktvā cāuraṃ cāureti vā punaḥ
vacanāt tulyadoṣaḥ syān mithyā dvirdoṣatām vrajet*

"It is as much of a criminal offence to call an outcast an outcast or a thief a thief as it is to commit the sin (of outcast or thief), and if the accusation is false the offence is twice as great" (Nār. 15, 21; for *doṣa* as crime, cf. *na doṣabhāk*, 'commits no crime,' Vi. 5, 188, etc.).

The old word *nind* (*anindya*, *anedyā*) is used in a general sense rather than with precise legal force (*nindārho yatra nindyate*, 'where one worthy of censure is censured,' M. 8, 19) and connotes only verbal disapproval. In the Rig Veda it is set against *druḥ* (*pāṇy āsmān druḥó nidó . . avadyāt*, RV. 4, 4, 15), which indicates malicious speech or action, always implying deceit and treachery (compare Germ. *Trug* and Avestan *aiwi-druj*). With *abhi*, *druḥ* is especially malicious reviling and in legal language *abhidroha* interchanges with *droha* in the sense of *ākrośa*, defamation (M. 8, 271; Vi. 5, 25); *droghavāk* is malicious; *droheṇa* is insultingly. So

¹ Compare Greek *ōreides* and Gothic *ga-naítjan*. Vedic *piy*, *devapiyá*, etc., 'revile,' is soon supplanted by other words.

dharṣaṇa, *paribhava* (*abhibhava*), etc., are words which merely imply insulting talk or action and sometimes mean an attack without wordy abuse, as *droha* means treason of any sort (probably in Yāj. 2, 96, *nṛpadroha* has this meaning) as well as insult. A later parallel is given by *nikṛti*, deceit and insult (*nikṛtvān*, degrading or deceptive, *nikṛta* both lowered and insulted).

The present study is concerned rather with those legal expressions which directly express defamation.² The simplest expression of this sort, if one does not use the word 'insult,' is through a word meaning 'speak' (in Sanskrit this takes a direct object) without any adjunct at all, in the sense of blame, censure, or insult. Thus, where Gautama says that a king is *anindya* ('not to be defamed' or censured), Nārada says *avaktavya*, 'not to be spoken of' (meaning censured),³ though *avācya* is usually 'not to be spoken to' or 'unspeakable.' In Yāj. 2, 40 and Vi. 6, 18, *na rājño vācyaḥ syāt* means, in legal language, 'he is not to be reproved by the king.' Rare as is this use, it is found a few times in the epic. Compare Mbh. 12, 132, 6, *kas taṁ vā vaktum arhati* (Nil. *ninditum*), 'who can blame him?' (PW. cites also H. 5268, *vakṣyanti naḥ sarve*, 'all will blame us'). The word *vāc* (vox), though an ordinary term for 'speak,' thus has a pessimistic tendency to bespeak a person in a disagreeable manner. Compare the English vulgarism 'use language' (insult). But with *vad*, the meaning, though also equivalent to 'speak,' inclines rather to praise than blame (compare the cognate *vand*, which has settled altogether into the sense of praise) and is from the beginning of a more general character, being used in the Rig Veda not only of men but of birds (as *anḍōv*, nightingale, comes from the same root).⁴ Perhaps 'call out' or 'sing out' may be the radical idea, which, as with many words of this sort, has tended toward the meaning 'extol.' Hence the form *avadyá* is 'not to be praised' or 'despicable' (*anavadya* is 'blameless'), a very common word for defamation, as in the Vedic passage above, 'save us from *avadyá*' (reproach or shame), though other compounds keep the general meaning, *satyavadya*, *sukhodya*,

² Words like *garh* and *kutsay* express rather disapprobation than defamation (*mlecchā garhitāḥ*, etc.).

³ G. 11, 32; Nār. 15, 20.

⁴ It is possible that *vad* from the beginning means 'sing'; cf. Slavic *vadinti*, 'call,' and *vǫéw*, 'sing'; also, from the same root, Germ. *far-wāzan*, "curse" (see below on singing as cursing).

brahmodya, *prakāmodya*, 'speaking the truth,' 'easily spoken,' 'spell-speaking,' 'garrulity'; *ānūdita*, 'not said,' in RV. 10, 95, 1, is *nefandum*; but perhaps only as *akṛta* gets a gerundive force ('not spoken' becomes 'not to be spoken').

Defamation can of course always be expressed by a malicious denial of a virtue or by uniting a simple word for speaking with another word implying verbal assault. Thus, to give an example or two of each, *aduṣṭām duṣṭām iti bruvaṇ* ('she is a blemished girl'), in Vi. 5, 47, or its equivalent, *akanye 'ti tu yaḥ kanyām brūyād dveṣeṇa* (M. 8, 225) is a statement whose malicious falsity constitutes a libel. So in M. 8, 273, *śrutam . . . bruvaṇ vitathena* means 'denying a person's learning' (as contrasted with *tathyenā 'pi bruvaṇ*, *ibid.* 274), where Yāj. 2, 204, says *kṣepaṃ karoti*, 'defames.' Viṣṇu in the parallel passage has *anyathāvādī*, 'one who falsely accuses' (followed by *tathāvādī*, 5, 26-27). Of the other sort of insult, *paraṣaṃ uktvā* is an example, 'speaking roughly to,' which develops into the legal phrase *vākpāruṣya* (M. 7, 51) as opposed to *daṇḍapāruṣya* (*ibid.* 8, 278), as 'abuse and assault,' so that we find (*ibid.* 7, 48) *pāśuṇyam*, *vāgdaṇḍajam ca pāruṣyam*, 'calumny, abuse, and assault.' Nārada, a late legal writer, making formal distinctions unknown to the early codes, divides cases of abuse and assault into three classes each. It is interesting to see that, even in this attempt at scientific definition, *abhidroha* and *upakṣepa* are still employed also to characterize assault as well as abuse (Nār. 15, 1, *seq.*):

deśajātikulādinām ākrośanyaṅgasamyutam
yad vacaḥ pratikūlārthaṃ vākpāruṣyaṃ tad ucyate. 1.
niṣṭhuraślīlativratvāt tad api trividhaṃ smṛtaṃ
gāuravānukramāt tasya daṇḍo 'py atra kramād guruḥ. 2.
sākṣepaṃ niṣṭhuraṃ jñeyam aślīlaṃ nyaṅgasamyutam
pātaniyāir upakrośāis tivrāṃ āhur maṇiṣiṇaḥ. 3.
paragātreṣu abhidroho hastapādāyudhādibhiḥ
bhaśmadīnām upakṣepāir daṇḍapāruṣyaṃ ucyate. 4.
tasyā 'pi drṣṭaṃ trāividhyaṃ mṛdumadhyottamaṃ kramāt
avagorānaniḥśaṅkapātanakṣatadarśanāḥ. 5.⁵

* Comm.: *ākrośa* *ākṣepo bhartisanam*; *nyaṅgaṃ nindā (avadyaṃ)*. Speech combined with reproaches is *niṣṭhura* ('What a fool!'); in indecent language, is *aślīla* (*abhigantāsmi bhāginīm tava*); charging one with an offence causing loss of caste, is *tivra* ('You are a drunkard').

That is to say: "Abuse, which may refer to country, caste, family, or person, implies an unjust accusation, indecently phrased or otherwise. If it is combined with reproach, it is called *niṣṭhura*, the least form of abuse; if indecent, it is called *aślīla*; and if it involves an offence causing loss of caste, it is called *tivra*. The penalty is in accordance with the severity of the offence. Assault is characterized by an attack on the person of another, such as flinging ashes or other things over him. Assault may be committed by hand, foot, or weapon. It also is of three degrees, according as it consists in the raising (of a hand or weapon to draw blood), or in an unexpected attack, or in striking a wound." Compare G. 21, 20, *abhikruddhāvagorane*, "on raising a hand in anger."

The verb of *duṣṭā* above is itself employed not only as spoil (injure) but also in a defamatory sense, as is the corresponding noun, *dūṣaṇa* (*adūṣya* is epic for *anindya*); and *duṣṭavāk* is a defamer (M. 8, 386). In Yāj. 1, 66: *aduṣṭām ca tyajan kanyām dūṣayaṁs tu mṛṣā* means 'and abandoning a girl unblemished; but falsely defaming her' (*yo 'kāmām dūṣayet* in M. 8, 364, is spoil, violate); but in Yāj. 2, 296, *abhakṣyeṇa dviṣaṁ dūṣyaṁ*,⁶ the same word means dishonor in the sense of mock (cf. *duṣ* with *vi*, as mock in 'mock not those with deficient limbs' and *vidūṣaka*, a mocker, jester). This is but one of many similar cases where the meaning defamation is rather implied than stated; but it is particularly striking that side by side appear two verses enjoining respectively fines for 'violating' and for 'defaming' a woman and that both ideas are expressed by the same word, (*stri*)*dūṣaṇa*, Yāj. 2, 288-289.⁷

But, as in the word de-fame itself, the chief instrument to convert speech into abuse is the preposition; compare *áva* and *brū*, 'speak down,' in the early Vedic example *anavabravá*, 'not to be defamed' (RV. 10, 84, 5). So AB. 5, 22: *mā śriyo 'vavāḍiṣma*, 'let us not revile prosperity'; and later, in the epic, *avabhāṣita* is

⁶ Vi. 5 98 has for this (irregular) participle: *abhakṣyeṇa brāhmaṇādūṣayitā*, dishonorer, mocker of priests (by offering uneatable food).

⁷ A similar looseness of expression may be observed in the division of kinds of punishment. Manu, 8, 129, says that there are four kinds of punishment, first a gentle exhortation by word, *vāgdaṇḍa*, then (if this fails), *dhigdaṇḍa*, a contemptuous reproof (third and fourth, fines and corporal punishment), whereas Yāj. 1, 366, puts *dhigdaṇḍa* first and *vāgdaṇḍa* second in order.

‘reviled.’ This preposition is not used with *vac*; but it occurs with the same force in combination with *man* and *jñā*, *avajānanti*, ‘they despise’ (compare *nā ’vahaset*, below). Somewhat closer to the *de* of defame is *āpa*, ‘off,’ used by legal authors with *vad* in the sense of defame, *nā ’pavaded viprān*, ‘one should not defame priests’ (*yo ’pavādayet*, with *abhinindeta*, in the epic) and *apavāda* in epic and legal works (Yāj. 2, 207), meaning ‘insult’ and equivalent to the following *vināśe vācike*, (a fine is imposed) ‘for verbal injury’ (*apabhāṣ* is a late parallel); *apavāda* is thus a sort of de-crying.⁸ But *apalāpin* is ‘(falsely) denying,’ e. g. Vi. 5, 111. In the epic, *nāikṛtam nyavocat*, ‘denounced as dishonorable,’ *ni* has the same force as *ava*, above, but in Vedic use *nivacanam* is only ‘address’ and ‘expression’ and with *apa* and *vac* (in contrast to *apa-vad*) the idea is that of ‘speaking off,’ that is, keeping off by speaking (cf. *abdico*, *untersagen*), like *nir-vac* in AV. (drive out by words) as compared with *nir-vad*, *nirvādair nirvaded enam*, ‘reproach him with reproaches’ in epic language. The *nir* in *nirvacanam*, etc., has the sense of ex-plain and *nirvākya* in R. is ‘speechless.’ Thus these words for ‘off-speak’ and ‘out (or forth)-speak’ conserve their simpler significance at the same time that they acquire the special sense of defamation. With *ūpa*, this special sense is not rare in the early authors, but does not seem to have been used by legal authorities, probably because the meaning markedly shifts from blame to praise. Thus in RV., *upavākā* is praise, *upavākya* and *upavācya* are praiseworthy, but *upa* with *vad* in AV. and AB. means reproach or revile, e. g. *upa vā vadati anu vā vyāharati* (AB. 2, 31). The idea in each case is ‘speak up to,’ in one case, encourage and extol and in the other speak aggressively to one or insult, indict; but *upa-vad* also means no more than address or bespeak, though *upavādin* (*upavāda*) implied blame. Perhaps the subtle difference is that of talking to a person and giving him a ‘talking to,’ a difference well known to small boys.

The combination with *ati*, over, makes ‘high words’ and so *ativāda* in Manu means proud speech or overbearing language, implying abuse, *ativādāns titikṣeta* (6, 47), ‘one should patiently endure abuse.’ The usual meaning is ‘over-speaking’ in the sense of overcoming by speaking, or speaking overmuch. There is a doubt-

⁸ Compare Nār. 15, 19: *na kilbiṣeṇā ’pavadet*, ‘one should not decry for his crime,’ that is, tax with it.

ful *atibrū* as "insult" in the epic, and Puranic language has *ativac* in the sense of blame. But this is not a legal expression.

On the other hand, 'talking about' a person, *parivāda*, may be censoriousness, as in M. 7, 47, or merely idle gossip; but it is also an epic and legal expression for blame, from which it is scarcely to be distinguished (it means blame in the extended expression *paripra-vad* in Ch. Up. 4, 10, 2). In M. 2, 200, *guror yatra parivādo nindā vā 'pi pravartate*, K. says that the difference is that *parivāda* is mentioning a known fault and *nindā* is mentioning an unknown fault, that is, justly censuring or falsely defaming; but *ibid.* 179, *parivāda* is mentioning faults in general in the sense of backbiting, associated with gambling, lying, and *janavāda*, gossip of a malicious nature. Probably the difference is not more than that between detraction and blame. According to G. 8, 12, seq., a priest is *ṣadbhiḥ parihāryaḥ*, 'excluded (exempt) from six,' the six being defined by the statement that he is *avadhya*, *abandhya*, *adaṇḍya*, *abahiṣkārya*, *aparivādya*, *aparihārya*, 'exempt from corporal punishment, imprisonment, fine, exile, reviling, and exclusion.' Vi. 71, 83 *parivādaṃ pariharet*, is a general injunction to avoid reviling (censuring) of gods, priests, *śāstras*, and *mahātmas* (seers) and is equivalent to the *nā 'vamanyeta*, 'despise,' of M. 4, 135.

Incidentally, it may be remarked that (Bühler's translation) exile is not a certain meaning of Gautama's fourth exemption, as G. says expressly that a priest may be punished by suspension from office, proclamation, banishment, *vivāsana*, or branding (12, 47), and Manu says, 'let a king banish a Brahman from his realm,' *rāṣṭrād enaṃ bahiḥ kuryāt* (8, 380), while he uses the same word of outcasts being excluded from rights and duties, *sarvadharmabahiṣkrta* (9, 238), and says that a Brahman may be branded or banished, *vivāsyāḥ* (imprisonment, *nīrodha*, is only for a Vāiśya, M. 8, 378; 9, 241).⁹ In not permitting *parivāda*, G. here anticipates the injunction (above) that a teacher is not to be reviled, *ācāryo 'nindyāḥ*.

⁹ Āpastamba, 2, 27, 8, 17-19, says *nāśya āryaḥ śūdrāyām*, 'for adultery with a slave-woman an (any?) Aryan should be banished' (*nāśya* = *nirvāśya*), but for murder, theft, or stealing land, the Brahman should have his eyes suppressed (or imprisoned), *cakṣurnīrodha* (with a cloth, says the scholiast, to avoid a possible interpretation of 'blinding by tearing out the eyes').

The idea of speaking about a person is more vaguely given by *anu* with a word of speaking, but this is more properly 'talk after,' though cursing is in fact one of the meanings developed by such a combination. The quotation given above from the Āitareya Brāhmaṇa is only one of many where in early language *anu-vyāhar* is used to make a noun or verb in the evil sense. With *har*, 'bring,' *ā*, or *udā*, or *vyā* mean 'bring out,' utter, sich äussern, and *anu-vyāhāra* is regularly curse, though *anuvyāharana* is repetition, which (as study, recitation) is the only meaning of *anuvacana*, and usually of *anuvadati*, though late Sanskrit has *anūdyā* in the sense of defaming and the epic still keeps *anuvyāhṛte* in the meaning 'a curse being uttered' (see PW.). But the danger of confusion between the harmless and injurious meanings may have led to its rejection by legal writers.

Of other prepositions carrying a defamatory sense, *vi* with *vac* in noun forms is merely 'explanation,' *vivacana*, but with *vad* the idea of strife prevails, *vivadana*, and even with *vac* in verbal form the notion of dispute is not uncommon, which may have suggested the epic *vibhāṣya* in *mām vibhāṣya* in the sense of 'speaking rudely to me' (*paruṣam uktvā*), though the ordinary meaning of *vibhāṣā*, as given by Pāṇini, 1, 1, 44, is *na ve 'ti* (an alternative). Compare *avivadiṣṇu* and *vivāk*, as Vedic examples for the (disputatious) force of the preposition here. *Vivāda* is a law-suit, *virodha*, dispute.

The preposition *abhi* with words of speaking gives (besides the meaning, address, explain) the sense of greet, *abhivāda*, greeting in a polite sense (Manu, etc.); *abhivādana* is equivalent to *abhi-vandana*. In Yāj. 2, 301 it is given by Stenzler the sense of opprobrious greeting (schilt), but even here *jāraṃ caure 'ty abhi-vadan dāpyaḥ* may mean only that 'one is to be fined if one addresses (calls) an adulterer a thief.' In 1, 26, Yāj. uses the causative in the sense of 'greet.' But *abhi* with *śaṁs* acquires a defamatory meaning (see below) and *abhyākhyāta* (Tāitt. Up. 1, 11, 4) means 'spoken against,' leading to the idea of (false) accusation in *abhyākhyāna* (etc.; cf. Kauś. S. 46).

Turning now to legal phrases of defamation in general, we find that they are not usually drawn from words such as we have been considering, but from those which give a more vivid presentation of the act of insulting and cursing. Like in-sult itself, indicating

a physical attack, the idea of insult is given by *kṣip*, throw, more particularly by *ā-kṣip*, 'throw at,' cast up against, which is a good parallel to *jacio* and λόγους ἰάπτω, iambic, having a fling at a person. In this sense, the word is used by both epic and legal writers, who, in different formulas but using the same verb, say *nā 'kṣipet*, that is, one should not mock; compare *jātihīnān nā 'kṣipet*, 'one should not mock (insult) persons of low birth' (M. 4, 141; *samā* is epic);¹⁰ with *ava* the same sense obtains, as also with *upa*, though this last combination is filled out with *vāgbhiḥ* (assault with words). So *adhikṣip* is insult in epic and legal language, M. 4, 185, 'insulted by them let one be patient,' *adhikṣiptaḥ* defined as *paruṣavacanāir ākrṣtaḥ* (Medh.; Rāmacandra as *tira-skṛtaḥ*, which is not used in the early language as scolded, shamed); *pratikṣip* also occurs in late writers and even uncompound, *kṣipati mām prati*. The noun is a regular legal word for defamation, *kṣepayukta* words are defamatory. As Manu uses the verb with the explanatory *vācā dāruṇayā* (a slave should have his tongue cut off when 'with virulent speech insulting' an Aryan, 8, 270), so Yājñavalkya uses *kṣepam karoti* (with gen.) to indicate a true or false accusation in insulting speech (2, 204) and, in 210 seq., *patanīyakṛte kṣepe* (*kṣepe* alone as insult), 'an insult imputing to another loss of caste.' Later writers use *ākṣepa*.¹¹

Belonging to the same legal writings, but perhaps of earlier development, a word *krośati* with *ā* 'shriek at,' *ākrośa*, becomes the typical expression for insult. It is found in *kroṣṭar*, jackal (*kruñc*, curlew?), and Slavic *kruku*, croaking, raven, so that its root-meaning is to let out a rough cry. Other words meaning cry out (apart from speak, above) such as *kṛand*, *nād*, *ghuṣ*, do not develop any such defamatory sense. With *apa*, *abhi* (objurgate) and especially with *ā*, this is the commonest word for defame, being used by three early legal writers, Gautama, Āpastamba, and Vasiṣṭha, as well as by Manu and Viṣṇu, etc.; it is also the word used by Pāṇini, *ākrośa*, as the general term for insult or defama-

¹⁰ For *ākṣipet* in M. 4, 141, Vi. 71, 2, has *avahaset*, 'deride' (in 1, *avamanyeta* as in M. *ibid.*, 135).

¹¹ Nārada 12, 13 has *ākṣipta* as a kind of eunuch. For *patanīyakṛte kṣepe*, Viṣṇu has *patanīyākṣepe kṛte* (*parasya*, Vi. 5, 29). The word *grahaṇa* is used only of speaking, naming, and must be modified, e. g. *droheṇa nēmagrahaṇe*, 'on naming his name with insult.'

tion. Compare Manu, 8, 267, *ākruśya*, reviling in a legal sense (demanding legal penalty) and in the ordinary sense, 6, 48, *ākruṣṭaḥ kuśalaṃ vadet*, 'when reviled let one answer with a blessing.' Gautama uses *ākrośe* in 12, 8, in antithesis to *daṇḍapāruṣya*, 'abuse and assault,' that is, as equivalent to *vākpāruṣya*; as in 12, 1 he says, "a slave who intentionally reviles or assaults an Aryan should lose the offending member," *ati (abhi)-saṃdhāyā 'bhihatya vāgdaṇḍapāruṣyābhyām*. Again in 23, 27, he says, *ākrośānṛtahinsāsu*, 'for abuse, lying, and injury to the person.' So Vasiṣṭha uses *ākrośa* in 19, 9, in the technical sense of defamation and Āpastamba in 1, 26, 3-4, says *anākrośyam ākruśya*, 'one defaming one who ought not to be defamed'; also in 2, 27, 14, *āryaṃ dhārmikam ākrośataḥ*, 'of one reviling an honest Aryan' (the tongue should be cut off). All these cases have to do with verbal assaults in the presence of the victim and witnesses, whereas *pāśuna* is calumny in a less specific sense; as in Āp. *ibid.* 7, *anāryavaṃ pāśunam*, are general faults, "un-Aryan behavior and calumny."¹² So Gautama, 25, 7, *pāśuna* is calumniating in general, like the admonition in G. 2, 19 to avoid *śuktā vācas*, 'sour words'; but such expressions, though not usual in the legal language, which is of course never wholly technical, sometimes occur even in formal legal phraseology. For example, *śuktavākyābhidhāne*, 'on calling bad names' (one is to be fined) is a phrase used by Viṣṇu in the same category with *ākṣepe*, *ākrośane*, *kṣepe*.¹³ The combination of *kruś* with *upa*, which appears only in noun-formation in the lexicons (*upakrośa*, *upakrośana*, *upakroṣṭar*) occurs in verbal form in Nār. 15, 30, *upakruśya rājānam*, 'if a man censures the king' (his tongue is to be cut out; a late form and rule). Viṣṇu has (*hinavarṇo 'dhikavarṇasya*) *ākrośayitā* (epic, *ākroṣṭar*), 5, 23.

¹² A *pāśuno rājāni* is one who brings to the ear of the king a malicious charge. Vi. 5, 191.

¹³ Vi. 5, 39 (cf. 37, *ākṣepe*; 31, *kṣepe*; 36, *hinavarṇākrośane*, for G.'s *ākrośe* in the same rule, G. 12, 12.) Another instance of *ākrośane* (not used in old writers) occurs in Vi. 5, 35, *samavarṇākrośane*, answering to *vṛyatikrame* and *vādeṣv avacaniyeṣu* in M. 8, 269. Compare Yāj. 2, 232, *arthyākrośātīkramakṛt*, 'one who reviles or transgresses against worthy men,' by implication probably verbal (but cf. M. 229 and 244, of the same book, as fault). Nār. 15, 13 has a similar indeterminate use of *ati-vart*, indicating any lack of respect and probably here insult: *yam eva hy ati-varteta nīcaḥ*, 'if a low man offers him disrespect (insult).'

Abuse or blame (opposed to *praśaṅs*, praise) attaches itself from the Brāhmaṇa period to this word for 'shrieking at.'

A couple of unusual words employed in the sense of defamatory accusation occur in Manu and Yājñavalkya, respectively. In 8, 275 and again in 8, 354-355, Manu uses the word *ākṣāraṇ* and *ākṣāritah*, apparently from *kṣar*, 'stream' (not *kṣāray*), in the sense of insult or accuse, perhaps 'overwhelming.' In Mbh. 2, 5, 104, *kṣārīta* or *ākṣārīta* (*cāurakarmanī*) is certainly 'accused' (of theft), and in the second Manu passage *pūrvam ākṣāritah* clearly means 'previously accused'; but in the first passage, where the participle is preceded by a list of near relatives, the scholiasts differ in their interpretation, from 'causing dissensions among' to 'angering' and 'defaming.' In Vi., the corresponding passage has *gurūn ākṣipān* (5, 28). I have not found the word elsewhere before Nār. 15, 9, where from the context the meaning must be insult. The subject under discussion is here a brawl between two men who are quarrelling and the legal decision is: *pūrvam ākṣārayed yas tu niyatam syāt sa doṣabhāk*, (in cases of this sort the rule is that) 'the first to insult is regularly the criminal at fault.' Perhaps 'making charges against,' in general, with the special application determined by the matter involved, would explain this use of 'overwhelm' (or 'pouring out at'?).

As this is apparently a popular locution introduced into law, so in Yāj. 2, 205, we have the sense of 'insult' conveyed by *śap*, 'swear,' a word related to *capio*, and meaning at first 'holding' a person, or fastening upon him, and so cursing (as in AV. 1, 19, 4, 'if one who hates us shall curse us'); then, in the middle voice, 'curse oneself by,' 'swear by,' *Rāmeṇa śape*, 'I swear by Rāma' (*śapathena* is a regular legal formula, to charge a witness 'on his oath,' G. 13, 12). Now in late Puranic writers, *śap* is used in the sense of insult, as we use 'swear' much in the same way, and in the passage corresponding to this in Yāj., which has the words *abhigantā 'smi bhaginīm mātaram vā taveti ha, śapantam dāpayed rājā*, Viṣṇu, a later writer, says (Vi. 5, 33-34), *nyaṅgatāyukte kṣepe (mātryukte)*, showing that he took the passage in the same sense of defamation, as is indeed implied by the fact that Yāj. inserts this rule between a case of *kṣepam karoti* and *apavāda*; so that the apparent sense, which would accord with the older meaning ('if a man takes an oath that he will violate another's sister,

the king should fine him'), is less probable than the force given by the later use, 'if one insults another by saying,' etc. With *abhi* the sense of accusation appears in *abhiśāpa*, 'a severe accusation' (Yāj. 2, 12, etc.); but in epic language this also means a curse.

Of all these expressions, the most interesting is *abhiśānsana*, which in the earliest code is used in the sense of defamation and accusation, e. g. G. 21, 17, *abhiśānsane*, 'in case one makes an accusation,' and *ibid.* 10, *anrtābhiśānsana*, 'a lying accusation' (*mithyābhiśānsana* in Yāj. 2, 289; 3, 285). In Manu 8, 266, in introducing the eleventh title of law, Manu says: "I will now explain decisions regarding *vākpāruṣya*" (rough speech, defamation), which is followed by examples, in 267, *ākruśya* (above, defaming) and in 268 *abhiśānsane*, 'in cases of defamation of a warrior,' and synonymous with this, in 269, *vādeṣv avacanīyeṣu*, 'words not to be spoken' (slandering). A person accused, though not found guilty, goes by the name of *abhiśasta*, accursed, e. g. G. 2, 35, grouped with outcasts, *patita*, as opposed to *praśasta*, praised, excellent. According to Āp. 1, 21, 8, and 24, 6, the *abhiśasta* is one accused of a heinous crime, which later writers call *mahāpātaka* (M. 2, 185 still has *abhiśasta* in the sense of great sinner). The word *śāns* means recite, tell, with a nuance of spell, and also of extol, so that *devāya śastīm śānsa* means 'hymn a hymn to the god' and *śasta* is praised and pure, *castus*, while, like *casmena*, *carmen*, an *abhiśasti* is a spell (imprecation), which may easily become a curse. Latin *censeo* and Avestan *fra-śasta* (*praśasta*) show that praise and blame may spring from the same radical; *abhiśasta* is accursed but *vākśastam* (Yāj. 1, 191) is 'declared pure.' Latin *castigo* and *casmena* may come from this root (?). The legal *abhiśānsana* thus appears to be a growth from the sense of reciting or singing a spell against a person or cursing him. The root does not combine with *āpa* or *āva* (except in AV. 6, 45, 2, doubtful), but with *abhi* it has the sense of imprecation as early as the Rig Veda. In RV. 10, 164, 3, where it is combined with the idea of offence, 'if we have offended through *āśās*, *niḥśās*, or *abhiśās*,' all the compounds are of doubtful meaning; but elsewhere, in RV. and AV. etc., curse, blame, accusation are the meanings of *abhiśasti*. Thus, *ānabhiśasta*, RV. 9, 88, 7, is 'blameless.' The meaning of the simple root varies between sing, speak (as praise), and speak at, curse; *āśastavāra*, RV. 10, 99, 5,

‘having unspeakable treasure’; *kīm úśastāni śaṁsasi* (AV. 6, 45, 1) ‘why utterest thou things unuttered?’ (blamable); *abhiśasti* is both curse and blame (*abhiśastipā*, ‘protecting from imprecation’). In the early Vedic period, *abhiśaṁs* is already ‘accuse’ (as in law). Thus AB. 5, 30, (*anenasaṁ enasā*) “accuse an innocent man of a crime.” In the epic language, the same word may still mean ‘praise.’

The word thus appears to be a good parallel to Latin *occulto* in the sense of *carmen condere* (*quod infamiam flagitium ve faciat*). It may be compared also with Old English *bispeken* in the sense of complain, though here the original lacks the idea of recite or sing, which gave the first impulse to the evil sense of *abhiśaṁs* and *occulto*.

Other words for sing have a less marked and totally un-legal development; but it may be worth mentioning that from *gā*, sing, we find *vi-gāna* and *vi-gīta* in the sense of insult; while *abhi-gā* is distinctly incantare in AB. 6, 32: “By singing these songs against them the gods overcame the demons”; *avagīta* (as a noun, ‘satire’) is *vigarhita*, ‘blameworthy’; but *vi-gā* develops, like *śaṁs*, in two ways, first as ‘sing abroad,’ so that *vigīta* is ‘celebrated’ (BAU. 6, 4, 18), and then as ‘sing awry’ (inharmooniously), so that here *vigīta* is “contradictory” (M. 8, 53). If *gur* is a form of *gar*, sing (Lith. *girti*, praise), as may well be, *ava-* and *apa-gur* can also be cited as used in the sense of dispraise as abuse and threaten (cf. *apagara* and *apagoraṇa*), as in the example *apa gureta*, quoted in the opening paragraph above. Manu says *na dviḥ avagured* in the same sense, “one should not offer abuse to a priest,” M. 4, 169.

UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUM MOKṢADHARMA

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*Die nichtsaṃkhyistischen Texte*¹

DIE ABSCHNITTE M XII 231-233 bilden eine geschlossene Darstellung. Der erste Abschnitt enthält eine Beschreibung der Weltalter; der zweite behandelt die Entfaltung, der dritte die Auflösung der Welt. Das Stück steht der Sāṃkhyalehre fern. Die Guṇalehre fehlt vollständig; *guṇa* bezeichnet hier nur die Eigenschaften der Elemente *śabda*, *sparsā* u. s. w. Von den psychischen Organen findet sich hier nur das *manas*; *ahaṃkāra* und *buddhi* fehlen. Suchen wir die Lehre des Stückes selbst kurz zu charakterisieren. Das oberste Princip ist das *brahma*. Es ist ewig und unvergänglich (231, 11. 32), aus ihm geht die Welt hervor und kehrt in dasselbe zurück (231, 32; 232, 1-2. 40-41; 233, 13. 17. 19). Daneben heisst es zwar auch, dass es der *īśvara* ist, der die Entfaltung des *brahma* veranlasst (231, 30-32); an einer anderen Stelle, dass sich die Welt in ihn auflöst (233, 1), und auch 232, 26 wird er als Weltschöpfer erwähnt. Aber das sitzt alles recht locker. Bemerkenswert ist die erste dieser Stellen 231, 30 ff.:

30. *tad ādau viśvam īśvaraḥ*
pralaye dhyānam ² *āviśya suptvā so 'nte vibudhyate*
31. *sahasrayugaparyantam ahar yad brahmaṇo viduḥ*
rātriṃ yugasahasrām tām te 'horātravido janāḥ

¹ Die folgende Abhandlung beschäftigt sich nur mit einem Teil der Mahābhāratatexte; die Behandlung der saṃkhyistischen Texte bildet eine notwendige Ergänzung. In Folge dessen musste ein Eingehen auf manche Probleme, die am Wege lagen, hier noch vermieden werden, weil sie jene Behandlung voraussetzen. Wo eine Anknüpfung an die Lehren der älteren Upaniṣaden versucht wird, beziehe ich mich auf meine "Untersuchungen zu den älteren Upaniṣaden" (erscheint in der Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik). Die Mahābhāratatexte citiere ich nach der Übersetzung von Deussen. Bei der Angabe der Lesarten verwende ich im Anschluss an die Ausgabe des Virāṭaparvan des Bhandarkar Instituts folgende Abkürzungen: Edn¹, die Calcuttaer Ausg.; Edn², die Bombayer Ausg.; Jie Übereinstimmung dieser beiden ist durch Edns. bezeichnet. Sk. bedeutet die Kumbakonam Ausgabe.

² 'tmānam Sk.

32. *pratibuddho vikurute brahmākṣayaṃ kṣapākṣaye
srjate ca mahad bhūtaṃ tasmād vyaktātmakam manah*
- 232, 1. *brahma tejomayaṃ śukraṃ yasya sarvaṃ idaṃ jagat
ekasya bhūtaṃ bhūtasya³ dvayaṃ sthāvarajaṅgamam
2. aharmukhe vibuddhaṃ tat⁴ srjate vidyayā jagat
agra eva mahad bhūtaṃ āsu vyaktātmakam manah.*

Es liegt offenkundig eine Dublette vor, die sogar veranlasst hat, dass im südindischen Text auch die Verse 232, 4-7 hinter 231, 32 nochmal gesetzt wurden. Der *īśvara* scheint also in unserem Stück nicht ursprünglich. Doch das ist ziemlich nebensächlich, denn theistische Umformung einer Lehre ist in diesen Texten gang und gäbe. Aus dem *brahma* geht zuerst das *mahad bhūtaṃ* hervor, das offenbar noch zum *avyaktam* gerechnet wird, denn bei der nächsten Wesenheit, dem *manas*, wird ausdrücklich betont, dass es zum *vyaktam* gehört (vgl. *vyaktātmakam manah* 231, 32 & 232, 2). Dazu stimmt, wenn es bei der Auflösung der Welt in umgekehrter Reihenfolge 233, 13 heisst:

*ākāśasya guṇaṃ śabdam abhivyaktātmakam manah⁵
manaso vyaktam avyaktam brāhmaṇ saṃpratisaṃcaraḥ.⁶*

Aus dem *manas* entsteht der *ākāśa*, aus diesem der Wind, aus dem Winde das Feuer, daraus das Wasser und aus diesem die Erde. Damit ist eine Accumulationstheorie verknüpft, dass nämlich jedes folgende Element die *guṇas* aller vorhergehenden besitzt. Es folgt, wie aus diesen Elementen sich der Körper zusammensetzt. Dann wird *Prajāpati* oder *Brahma* als Schöpfer der einzelnen Wesen eingeführt. Ist der Tag des *brahma* zu Ende, so erfolgt die Auflösung der Welt in das *brahma* in umgekehrter Reihenfolge.

Diese Weltentwicklung unterscheidet sich stark von der *Sāṃkhyalehre*, vor allem dadurch, dass der *ahamkāra* fehlt und die Elemente nicht aus ihm sondern aus dem *manas* hervorgehen. Bemerkenswert ist nun, dass diese Lehre auch sonst im *Mokṣa-*

³ *brahmabhūtasya* Sk.

⁴ Sk.: *vibuddhaḥ saṃ* Edns.

⁵ Zu ergänzen *grasate* aus dem vorhergehenden.

⁶ Damit ist eigentlich schon der Abschluss erreicht; die folgenden recht confusen Verse sind, wie wir sehen werden, ein Zusatz.

dharma sich findet. M XII 341, 29-31 wird die Auflösung der Welt folgendermassen geschildert:

29. *jagatpratisthā devarṣe prthivy apsu praliyate*
jyotiṣy āpaḥ praliyante jyotir vāyau praliyate
 30. *khe vāyuh pralayaṃ yāti manasy ākāśam eva ca*
mano hi paramaṃ bhūtaṃ tad avyakte praliyate
 31. *avyaktaṃ puruṣe brahman niṣkriye saṃpraliyate*
nāsti tasmāt paratarah puruṣād vai sanātānāt.

Das entspricht genau der Beschreibung in M XII 233; dass statt des *brahma puruṣa* steht ist unbedeutend. Wie dort in den oben angeführten Versen an Stelle des *mahad bhūtaṃ* bloss der Ausdruck *avyaktaṃ* steht, so auch hier. Eine zweite nur wenig verschiedene Schilderung finden wir M XII 349, 14-16:

14. *dharanyām atha lināyām apsu caikārṇave purā*
jyotirbhūte jale cāpi line jyotiṣi cānile
 15. *vāyau cākāśasaṃline ākāśe ca manonuge*
vyakte manasi saṃline vyakte cāvvyaktatām gate
 16. *avyakte puruṣaṃ yāte puṃsi sarvagate 'pi ca*
tama evābhavat sarvaṃ na prajānyata kimcana.

Hier ist zwischen *manas* und *avyaktaṃ*, *vyaktaṃ* als eigene Wesenheit eingeschoben. Vielleicht ist es durch eine Zerlegung des *vyaktātmakam manas* entstanden. Ein derartiges Erweitern einer Entwicklungsreihe wird uns auch sonst noch begegnen. Im übrigen stimmt die Schilderung genau mit der vorhergehenden überein.

Auffällig ist, dass diese Schilderungen beide in Pāñcarātratexten stehen, einer Lehre die in ihren späteren Schriften sich eng an das Sāṃkhya anschliesst, und auch in diesen Abschnitten des Mahābhārata starken Einfluss des Sāṃkhya zeigt. Wir finden aber auch in einem ausgesprochen sāmkyistischen Text einen Abschnitt, der deutliche Beeinflussung durch die vorliegende Lehre verrät, nämlich M XII 314. Hier wird zuerst das Aufgehen der Elemente ineinander in ganz ähnlicher Weise wie M XII 233 geschildert, dann heisst es weiter:

- ākāśam apy abhinadan mano grasati cādhikam*
 12. *mano grasati bhūtātmā[†] so 'haṃkāraḥ prajāpatiḥ*

[†] *sarvātmā* Sk.

13. *ahaṃkāraṃ* * *mahān ātmā bhūtabhavyabhaviṣyavit
tam apy anupamātmānaṃ viśvaṃ śambhuḥ prajāpatiḥ*

15b. *atha grasaty ananto hi mahātmā viśvaṃ īśvaraḥ.*

Wir finden hier die sāmkyistische Dreiheit des Innenorgans, *manas*, *ahaṃkāra* und *mahān ātmā*. Während aber nach Sāmkyalehre einerseits die Elemente, andererseits das *manas* und die *indriyas* in den *ahaṃkāra* eingehen müssten, gehen hier die Elemente in das *manas* und dieses erst in den *ahaṃkāra* ein; die Resorption der *indriyas* fehlt. Das erklärt sich ungezwungen durch Einwirkung der Lehre von M XII 233, nach der die Elemente in das *manas* eingehen, und wo Schöpfung und Resorption der *indriyas* fehlen. Dass wir mit solchem Einfluss hier zu rechnen haben, zeigt auch das directe Eingehen des *mahān ātmā* in den *īśvara*, nicht in das *avyaktam*, die *prakṛti*, im Gegensatz zu M XII 312, 11 & 16. Übrigens erstreckt sich hier der Einfluss auch auf die Evolutionstheorie; denn obwohl M XII 312, 11-15 in Übereinstimmung mit der Sāmkyalehre die 8 schaffenden und die 16 nur geschaffenen Potenzen, unter diesen auch das *manas*, aufgezählt werden, wird doch auch hier v. 18-19 gelehrt, dass aus dem *ahaṃkāra* das *manas* und aus diesem erst die Elemente hervorgehen. Characteristisch ist auch, dass das Hervorgehen der Sinnesorgane v. 21 unklar bleibt.

Das sind, so viel ich sehe, alle Stellen des Mokṣadharmas (Bhagavadgīta und Anugīta geben nichts), wo die Auflösung der Welt ausführlicher geschildert wird, und alle sind, wie wir gesehen haben, von der Lehre von M XII 233 abhängig. Dass diese auch in sāmkyistische Texte eingedrungen ist wird verständlich, wenn wir bedenken, dass in den eigentlichen Texten der Sāmkyaschule wohl die Entfaltung der Welt ausführlich behandelt wird, nicht aber ihre Auflösung,⁹ also eine Lücke der eigenen Lehre das

* *ahaṃkāro* Edn², Sk. ist unsinnig, wie der Vergleich mit M xii 312, 17 zeigt.

⁹ Eine ausführliche Schilderung entsprechend dem Sāmkyasystem findet sich z. B. im Viṣṇupurāṇa vi 4 (S. 197 ff. Wilson). Aber das gehört nicht zur eigentlichen Schule, sondern steht unter andern Einflüssen, wie z. B. schon die Unterscheidung zwischen *pralaya* und *mahāpralaya* zeigt. Ausserdem zeigt das Sāmkyia im Viṣṇupurāṇa bereits sehr fortgeschrittene Entwicklung und ist, wie schon die Kenntnis der *tanmātras* beweist, jünger als der grösste Teil der Mahābhāratatexte.

Eindringen fremden Materials begünstigte. Immerhin zeigt sich aber, dass die Lehre von M XII 233 ziemliche Verbreitung und Bedeutung gehabt haben muss. So ergibt sich denn gleich die Frage, ob wir nicht auch sonst Spuren dieser Lehre finden, und glücklicherweise können wir diese Frage bejahen.

M XII 239 enthält eine Lehre, die in der Terminologie zwar von M XII 231-233 abweicht, in den Anschauungen aber nahe Verwandtschaft zeigt. Als Zusatz sind nur die Verse 13-14 zu streichen, über die wir nachher zu sprechen haben werden. Die Lehre steht dem Sāṃkhya fern. Die Guṇalehre fehlt. Auch in dem Zusatz vv. 13-14, wo die *guṇas* genannt werden, wird gegen sie polemisiert. Sonst findet sich das Wort *guṇa* nur einmal v. 15 in anderer Bedeutung. *Ahaṃkāra* und *buddhi* sind unbekannt; als geistiges Organ erscheint nur das *manas*. Das oberste Princip ist in dieser Lehre der *ātmā*, der ganz in der Weise der Upaniṣaden geschildert wird (v. 16 ff.); einmal steht auch die Bezeichnung *brahma* (v. 21). Die individuelle Seele wird durch die Bezeichnung *bhūtātma* davon unterschieden (vv. 11. 12. 21). Aus dem *ātmā* sind die Elemente (*mahābhūtāni*) hervorgegangen (v. 6); eine genauere Schilderung der Weltentfaltung fehlt. Aufgezählt werden die 5 Elemente v. 7, die 5 Eigenschaften der Elemente, welche hier *indriyārthāḥ* heissen, v. 10. Oben haben wir erwähnt, dass in der Evolutionsreihe von M XII 231-233 im Gegensatz zum Sāṃkhya die Schöpfung der Sinnesorgane fehlt. Wie ihre Entstehung zu denken ist zeigt der vorliegende Text. V. 7-8 wird die Zusammensetzung des Körpers aus den Elementen behandelt und dabei werden auch einige von den Sinnesorganen genannt. Es ist die alte Vorstellung, wie wir sie in den älteren Upaniṣaden z. B. für die Yājñavalkyalehre nachgewiesen haben, dass die Sinnesorgane aus den Elementen hervorgehen und beim Zerfall des Körpers wieder in sie zurück kehren. Dieselbe Vorstellung liegt offenbar auch M XII 231-233 zu Grunde. Hier heisst es (v. 10 ff.), dass die *saptavidhātmanāḥ* sich zur Bildung des Körpers vereinigen, das sind *mahad bhūtam*, *manas* und die 5 Elemente.¹⁰ Da hier ebenso wenig wie in der Evolutionsreihe die Sinnesorgane genannt werden, bleibt nur die Annahme übrig, dass sie auch hier aus den Elementen gebildet werden. Die entsprechenden 7 Bestandteile des Menschen weist übrigens auch die Lehre von M XII 239 auf: die

¹⁰ Vgl. Deussen *Gesch. d. Phil.* I, 3, S. 43.

5 Elemente, das *manas* und den *bhūtātāmā*. Vers 18a: *avyaktam sarvadeheṣu martyeṣv amṛtam āhitam*, zeigt, dass der *bhūtātāmā* als *avyaktam* betrachtet wird, gerade wie das *mahad bhūtam* in M XII 231-233. Es ist also wohl nicht unwahrscheinlich das *mahad bhūtam* entsprechend dem *bhūtātāmā* hier, als den in die Welt eingegangenen Teil des *ātāmā* zu interpretieren. Wollte man es als psychisches Organ entsprechend dem *manas* auffassen, so wäre unverständlich, warum es ihm als *avyaktam* gegenübergestellt wird; gegen die Auffassung als *prakṛti* spricht das Eingehen als Bestandteil in den Körper der Wesen.

Wir haben noch den Zusatz v. 13-14 zu besprechen.^{10a} Dass es ein Zusatz ist, zeigt sich ganz klar darin, dass eine Reihe von Begriffen vorkommt, die sonst dem Stück vollkommen fremd sind: *svabhāva*, *cetana*, *sattvam*, *tejas*, die Bezeichnung *jīva* für die individuelle Seele und die Erwähnung der *guṇas*. Wir können aber auch sehen, was den Zusatz veranlasst hat. Im nächsten Vers heisst es: *evam sapta-daśam dehe vṛtam ṣoḍaśabhir guṇaiḥ*. Diese 16 *guṇas* sollen die eingeschobenen Verse aufzählen. Das ist aber gar nicht notwendig. Eine Zusammenzählung der im vorhergehenden aufgezählten Principien ergibt ungezwungen die 16 Zahl. Zuerst werden die Elemente behandelt, dann die Sinnesorgane und Sinnesobjecte (*indriyārthāḥ*) aufgezählt und schliesslich das *manas* besprochen; das ergibt gerade 16, der *bhūtātāmā* ist der Siebzehnte (*sapta-daśam*). Auch M XII 232, 12 wird der Körper *ṣoḍaśātma* genannt und auch dort lässt sich die Zahl auf die selbe Weise erklären, während von *cetana* u. s. w. dort keine Rede ist.

Ein weiterer wichtiger Text für unsere Lehre ist der Schöpfungsbericht im ersten Buch des *Mānavadharmasāstra*m. Schon Bühler hat bemerkt, dass viele Verse dieses Berichtes mehr oder weniger genau mit M XII 231-233 übereinstimmen und gibt in der Einleitung zu seiner Übersetzung der *Manusmṛti* (*Sacred Books of the East* 25, S. lxxxiii-xc) eine ausführliche Zusammenstellung. Allerdings der Schluss, den Bühler aus den Übereinstimmungen zwischen *Manusmṛti* und *Mahābhārata* zieht, dass nämlich beide aus der im Umlauf befindlichen Spruchweisheit schöpften, lässt sich gerade auf unseren Fall nicht anwenden. Denn dass eine systematische, geschlossene Lehre über Weltent-

^{10a} M XII 239, 14 ist eine Umformung von M XII 194, 44 (= 248, 20b = 287, 36) und von dort übernommen.

stehung und Weltuntergang wie M XII 231-233 auf Spruchweisheit beruht, ist schwer vorstellbar. Wahrscheinlicher ist vielmehr, dass in dem Berichte der Manusmṛti dieselbe philosophische Lehre zu Grunde liegt, wie in M XII 231-233. Das gibt uns auch den Schlüssel zum Verständnis des Manutextes. Vergleichen wir zuerst folgende Stellen:

- Manu I 16. *teṣām tv avayavān sūkṣmān ṣaṇṇām apy amitaujasām sanniveśyātmanāmātrāsu* ¹¹ *sarvabhūtāni nirmame*
 17. *yan mūrtyavayavāḥ sūkṣmās tasyemāny āśrayanti ṣaṭ tasmāc charīram ity āhus tasya mūrtim maṇiṣiṇaḥ*
 18. *tad āviśanti bhūtāni mahānti saha karmabhiḥ manaś cāvayavaiḥ sūkṣmaiḥ sarvabhūtakṛd avyayam*
 19. *teṣām idam tu saptānām puruṣāṇām mahaujasām sūkṣmābhyo mūrtimātrābhyaḥ sambhavaty avyayād vyayam.*

und M XII 232, 10-12:

10. *ete saptavidhātmanō nānāvīryāḥ prthak prthak nāśaknuvan prajāḥ sraṣṭum asamāgamya kṛtsnaśaḥ*
 11. *te sametya mahātmanō hy anyonyam abhisamśritāḥ śarirāśrayaṇam prāptās tataḥ puruṣa ucyate*
 12. *śariram śrayaṇād bhavati mūrtimat ṣoḍaśātmakam* ¹² *tam āviśanti bhūtāni mahānti saha karmaṇā.*

Die Ähnlichkeit ist in die Augen fallend: die Etymologie von *śarīram*, hier die 7 *ātman*s dort die 7 *puruṣas*, ausserdem der wörtliche Anklang Manu I 18b — M XII 232, 12b. Versuchen wir die Manustelle nach der Lehre von M XII 231-233 zu erklären, dann wären die 7 *puruṣas* der individuelle *ātmā*, das *manas* und die 5 Elemente. Dass der *bhūtātmā* mitgezählt ist zeigt v. 16, wo die Zahl zerlegt wird: das *brahma* schafft die Wesen, indem es Teile seines Selbstes mit den Sechsen verbindet. Aber auch was die Sechs sind bleibt nicht zweifelhaft, denn v. 18 heisst es ausdrücklich, dass es das *manas* und die Elemente sind, die in den Körper eingehen. Die Verse wären also ungefähr folgendermassen zu übersetzen (in den Einzelheiten folge ich dabei grossen Teils Bühler):

¹¹ *ātmamātrābhiḥ* v. l.

¹² Edns: *śrayaṇād charīri bhavati mūrtimān ṣoḍaśātmakaḥ* Sk.

16. Feine Teile dieser 6 unermesslich gewaltigen mit Teilen von sich Selbst verbindend schuf es (das *brahma*) alle Wesen.

17. Weil es mit feinen körperbildenden Teilen in jene Sechs eingeht, darum nennen die Weisen den von ihm angenommenen Körper *śarīram*.

18. In diesen gehen die grossen Elemente samt ihren Funktionen, das *manas* (und) das unvergängliche, alle Wesen schaffende (*brahma*) mit feinen Teilen ein.

19. Aus feinen körperbildenden Teilen dieser 7 sehr gewaltigen *puruṣas* entsteht also dieses alles, das vergängliche aus dem unvergänglichen.

Der Gedankengang ist auf diese Weise vollkommen klar und geschlossen. Sicher ist aber auch, dass diese Verse an das vorhergehende nicht anschliessen und mit der Aufzählung der Sāṃkhya-principien in vv. 14b-15 unvereinbar sind. Um das zu erklären müssen wir zuerst die übrigen mit M XII 231-233 übereinstimmenden Verse betrachten. Hiebei zeigt ein Blick auf die Tabellen Bühlers (vgl. auch a. a. O. S. 534 f.), dass Manusm. I 64-86 fast genau M XII 231, 12-232, 7 entspricht; das heisst, es findet sich hier der ganze Anfang des Berichtes über die Weltalter und die Weltschöpfung bis dorthin, wo die oben behandelte Stelle einsetzt; nur die Beschreibung der Verschlechterung der Weltalter M XII 231, 23-28 ist in der Manusmṛti hinter den Schöpfungsbericht gerückt. Die Manusmṛti hat also die ganze Lehre von Weltaltern und Weltschöpfung übernommen, nur hat sie sie zerrissen. Der Anfang bis zur Schöpfung der Elemente steht in der Rede des Bhṛgu, dann folgt wie Brahmā den einzelnen Kasten ihre Pflichten zuteilt. Die Rede des Manu enthält am Anfang den Mythos vom Weltenei, daran ist ungeschickt genug die Aufzählung der Sāṃkhya-principien geschlossen, dann folgt aus unserer Lehre die Stelle, wie sich die Elemente, *manas* und *bhūtātma* zur Bildung der Wesen zusammenschliessen, darauf tritt wieder der Gott Brahmā auf und schafft die einzelnen Klassen von Wesen, die Veden u. s. w. Die ganze Zusammenfügung ist recht plump und gibt natürlicher Weise, wie die vergeblichen Bemühungen der Erklärer zeigen, kein einheitliches Bild. Umso klarer sind dafür die Fugen und umso leichter die Sonderung der Bestandteile. Wie grob z. B. der Bericht von M XII 231-233 zerrissen ist, zeigt sich darin, dass v. M XII 232, 8, der die Accumulationstheorie enthält und im

Mahābhārata sich in Folge dessen unmittelbar an die Lehre von der Entstehung der Elemente anschliesst, hier zu dem anderen Stück gezogen und Manusm. I 20 ganz ohne Zusammenhang eingeschoben ist. Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass diese Zerreissung erst bei der Bhṛgurecension des Manutextes erfolgte, da doch offenbar erst diese den zweiten Sprecher Bhṛgu einführte. Auf dieser Umformung beruht auch der Einschub der sāmkyistischen Verse Manusm. I 14-15¹³ und da es nicht vorzusetzen ist, dass ein Redactor mit sāmkyistischer Tendenz ein nicht sāmkyistisches Stück neu eingearbeitet habe, dürfen wir wohl annehmen, dass unser Text schon einer älteren Recension der Manusmṛti angehörte. Für unsere Untersuchung ist diese Frage übrigens ziemlich belanglos. Wichtig ist, dass wir eine Parallelversion zu M XII 231-233 gewinnen und damit auch einen weiteren Beleg für die Verbreitung und Wichtigkeit dieser Lehre. Bemerkenswert ist die Übereinstimmung der Verse Manusm. I 28-29 mit M XII 232, 16-17, denn sie beweist, dass auch in der Vorlage des Manutextes auf die philosophische Evolutionslehre die Einführung des Gottes Brahma als Schöpfer der einzelnen Wesensgruppen folgte. Besonders wichtig ist aber eine andere Beobachtung. Die Verse Manusm. I 74-75 lauten:

74. *tasya so 'harniśasyānte prasuptaḥ pratibudhyate
pratibuddhaś ca sṛjati manaḥ sadasadātmakam*
75. *manaḥ sṛṣṭiṃ vikurute codyamānaṃ sisṛkṣayā
ākāśaṃ jāyate tasmāt tasya śabdaṃ guṇaṃ viduḥ.*

Hier fehlt in der Entwicklungsreihe das *mahad bhūtam* und das *manas* ist die erste Schöpfung. Dem entsprechen die oben behandelten Verse Manusm. I 16-19, wo bei der Zusammensetzung der Wesen nicht der *bhūtātmā* als besondere Wesenheit angeführt wird, sondern wo es heisst, dass das *brahma* Teile von sich mit *manas* und Elementen verbindet. Eine Vergleichung mit den Anschauungen der älteren Upaniṣaden zeigt, dass dies die ältere Vorstellung ist, und die Trennung des *bhūtātmā* vom *brahma* als besondere Wesenheit eine jüngere Entwicklung darstellt. Das ergibt das Resultat, dass der Manutext auf eine ältere Form der Lehre zurückgeht als M. XII 231-233 und dass in dieser das *mahad bhūtam* in der Entwicklungsreihe fehlte.

¹³ Auch die anderen sāmkyistischen Stellen der Manusmṛti gehen dann wohl auf diese Redaction zurück.

Wir haben noch ein Stück zu behandeln, das meiner Ansicht nach in diesen Zusammenhang gehört, nämlich die Unterredung zwischen Bhṛgu und Bharadvāja M XII 182-187. Die folgenden Abschnitte sind zwar auch noch denselben Sprechern in den Mund gelegt, handeln aber von Kastenteilung und Pflichten der *āśramas* und sind in Folge dessen für uns hier ohne Interesse; ausserdem scheint mir auch ursprüngliche Zusammengehörigkeit zweifelhaft. Die oben genannten Abschnitte bilden dagegen ein deutlich zusammengehöriges Ganzes: zuerst eine Weltschöpfung, dann eine ausführliche Erörterung der Zusammensetzung der Wesen und insbesondere des menschlichen Körpers aus den Elementen und schliesslich ein Beweis für die Existenz des *jiva*. Das oberste Princip ist der *mānasa*; die Lehre von der Entstehung der Elemente weicht vom Sāṃkhya ab. Überhaupt zeigt der ganze Hauptteil (183-187) nichts was auf sāmkyhistischen Einfluss hinweisen würde, ausser wenigen Versen, deren ganze Art sie deutlich genug als Zusatz kennzeichnet. So heisst es z. B. M. XII 185, 3-5:

3. *śrito mūrdhānam agnis tu śarīraṃ paripālayan*
prāṇo mūrdhani cāgnau ca vartamāno viceṣṭate
4. *sa jantuḥ sarvabhūtātma puruṣaḥ sa sanātanaḥ*
mano buddhir ahaṃkāro bhūtāni viṣayāś ca saḥ
5. *evaṃ tv iha sa sarvatra prāṇena paricālyate*¹⁴
*prṣṭhataś*¹⁵ *tu samānena svām svām gatim upāśritāḥ.*

Es ist ganz deutlich, dass v. 4 ohne Bedeutung für den Zusammenhang ist und dass es dem Interpolator nur darauf ankam, durch eine ganz äusserliche Identification eine fremde Lehre mit seiner eigenen gleichzusetzen; ganz abgesehen davon, dass diese Gleichsetzung des *prāṇas* auch der Sāṃkhyalehre gar nicht entspricht. Ganz ähnlich steht es mit dem zweiten Einschub M XII 187, 23-25.^{15a} Hier wird über das Wesen des *ātmā* gesprochen, dann heisst es:

23. *ātmā kṣetrajña ity uktāḥ saṃyuktāḥ prakṛtair guṇaiḥ*
tair eva tu vinirmuktāḥ paramātmety udāhṛtāḥ
24. *ātmānaṃ taṃ vijānihi sarvalokahitātmakam*¹⁶

¹⁴ Edns.: *paripālyate* Sk.

¹⁵ Edns.: *koṣṭhataś* Sk.

^{15a} Die Verse M XII 187, 24-26 sind gleich M XII 241, 18-20 und stammen wohl daher.

¹⁶ Edns.: *vipācakam* Sk.

25. *tasmin yaḥ saṁśrito dehe hy abbindur iva puṣkare
kṣetrajñam taṁ vijānīhi nityam lokahitātmakam
tamo rajas ca sattvaṁ ca viddhi jivaguṇān imān.*

In kurzer trockener Form werden die Sāṁkhyatermini eingeführt, während sonst weder *kṣetrajñā* noch *guṇas* eine Rolle spielen und nicht einmal genannt werden. Das sind die beiden einzigen sām-
khyistischen Einschübe im Hauptteil. Bedeutender ist die Um-
arbeitung des Anfanges. Dort wird folgender Schöpfungsbericht
gegeben (182, 11 ff.): aus dem *mānasa*, der hier mit dem *avyaktam*
gleichgesetzt wird, geht der *mahān* hervor, aus diesem der *ahaṁ-
kāra* und aus ihm die Elemente; darauf wird die Entstehung des
Gottes Brahmā aus der Lotosblume erwähnt und dieser mit dem
ahaṁkāra gleichgesetzt; nach einem Exkurs über die Ausdehnung
der Welten wird darauf zurückgegriffen und kurz die Welterschöpf-
ung durch Brahmā behandelt. Die ausführliche Schilderung der
Entstehung der Elemente M XII 183, 9 ff. ist schon äusserlich
dadurch davon getrennt, dass sie als Offenbarung der Göttin
Sarasvatī an Brahmanweise eigens eingeführt wird. Dass dieser
Schöpfungsbericht viṣṇuitisch ist, zeigt die ausdrückliche Erwäh-
nung Viṣṇus v. 182, 20¹⁷ (aber auch nur hier; im Hauptteil findet
sich nichts dergleichen!). Bestätigt wird es dadurch, dass die hier
vorliegende Form der Verschmelzung von philosophischem und
mythischem Schöpfungsbericht durch die charakteristische Gleich-
setzung von Brahma und *ahaṁkāra* sich gerade in den Pāñcarā-
trastücken des Mokṣadharmā wiederfindet z. B. M. XII 341, 62;
M XII 342, 31 (vgl. 36); M XII 349, 21. In zwei Punkten zeigt
aber unser Text Abweichungen. Erstens darin, dass der *mānasa*
als oberstes Princip aufgestellt und dem *avyaktam* gleichgesetzt
wird; das hat in den Sāṁkhya- und Pāñcarātratekten keine
Parallele, wohl aber ist der *mānasa* als oberstes Princip für unser
Stück charakteristisch. Zweitens in der Entstehung der Elemente
v. 182, 14: *ākāśād abhavat vāri salilād agnimārutau agnimāru-
tasamyogāt tataḥ samabhavan mahi*. Auch zu dieser Lehre findet
sich nichts ähnliches in Sāṁkhya- oder Pāñcarātratekten, wohl
stimmt sie aber mit der ausführlichen Schilderung in 183, 9-17
überein. Das erklärt sich am einfachsten, wenn man annimmt,
dass das Stück M XII 182-187 ursprünglich von sām-
khyistischen

¹⁷ In Sk. ist auch noch am Anfang ein viṣṇuitischer Zusatz hinzugefügt.

und pāñcarātrischen Einflüssen frei war und erst später, wahrscheinlich zugleich mit den kleinen Zusätzen,¹⁸ der Schöpfungsbericht am Anfang hinzugefügt wurde, wobei man versuchte durch die besprochenen Änderungen Übereinstimmung mit der übrigen Lehre herzustellen.

Wir wollen nun die alten Teile des Stückes betrachten. Wir finden hier wenig Material, denn die metaphysischen Probleme treten vor naturwissenschaftlichen Fragen ganz zurück. Vielleicht ist aber gerade das die Ursache, dass wir einige altertümliche Vorstellungen bewahrt finden. Schon die Bezeichnung *mānasa* ist wichtig. Sie kann nichts anderes bedeuten, als dass der *ātmā* manasartig ist; das heisst das *manas* ist keine eigene Wesenheit sondern fällt mit dem *ātmā* zusammen. Dieser Auffassung widerspricht auch M XII 187, 15 ff. nicht, die einzige wichtigere Erwähnung des *manas* in unserem Stück. Die Verse lauten nämlich:

15. *śṛṇoti kathitaṃ jīvaḥ kaṇḍābhyāṃ na śṛṇoti tat maharṣe manasi vyagre tasmāj jīvo nirarthakāḥ*
16. *sarvaṃ paśyati yad dṛśyaṃ manoyuktena cakṣuṣā manasi vyākule cakṣuḥ paśyann api na paśyati.*¹⁹

Bharadvāja führt hier keine scharfe Polemik sondern erwägt vielmehr zweifelnd die Fragen und erhebt selbst die Einwände. Bhṛgu gibt nur die Entscheidung. Als Product der Elemente kann hier das *manas* nicht gelten, denn sonst würde eben dass z. B. das mit dem *manas* verbundene Auge zum Sehen hinreicht, genügen um die Überflüssigkeit des *jīva* zu erweisen. Das *manas* wird vielmehr direct zum *jīva* gestellt und argumentiert: weil man ohne *manas* hört, ist der *jīva* überflüssig. Dazu kommt, dass bei der Schilderung der Zusammensetzung des Körpers aus den Elementen (184, 19-25) das *manas* nicht erwähnt wird. Neben dem *jīva* als eigene Wesenheit können wir es aber nicht annehmen, denn davon findet sich keine Erwähnung. Andererseits sagt, nachdem in den angeführten Versen dargelegt wurde, wie das *manas* es ist, was in den Sinnesorganen wirkt, gleich darauf v. 19 Bhṛgu ausdrücklich, dass

¹⁸Wie wir jetzt erkennen können, gehört zum zweiten dieser Zusätze auch der unmittelbar vorhergehende Vers, der auf die Welterschöpfung durch Gott Brahma (vgl. 183, 1-2) Bezug nimmt.

¹⁹Ich schliesse mich in der Interpretation der Übersetzung Deussens an.

es nur der *ātmā* ist, der Gerüche u. s. w. wahrnimmt. Ausserdem müssen wir noch v. 187, 31 betrachten. Hier heisst es

mānaso 'gniḥ śarīreṣu jīva ity abhidhīyate.

Wir sehen, es liegt die alte Vorstellung vom *agnir vaiśvānaraḥ* vor, die auch in den älteren Upaniṣaden in der Śāṇḍilya- und Yājñavalkyalehre zu Grunde liegt. Wie dort gilt auch hier der *ātmā* als erkennend; und wenn er hier ausdrücklich *mānaso 'gniḥ* genannt wird, so dürfen wir wohl annehmen, dass hier wie in der Śāṇḍilyalehre der *ātmā* mit dem *manas* zusammenfällt. Das führt zu einer weiteren wichtigen Folgerung. Durch die Interpolation am Anfang ist der ursprüngliche Beginn der Weltschöpfung uns verloren gegangen. Auf Grund unserer Darlegungen können wir aber jetzt sagen, dass die erste Schöpfung hier nicht das *manas* gewesen sein kann, sondern offenbar als erstes sofort der *ākāśa* aus dem *mānasa* hervorging. Dass es diese Vorstellung gab, dafür finden wir glücklicher Weise noch einen Beleg im Mokṣadharmā. In dem oben behandelten Stück M XII 231-233 ist bei der Resorption der Welt mit der Erwähnung des Eingehens in das *brahma* 233, 13 der Abschluss erreicht. Daraus ergibt sich schon, dass die folgenden Verse mit ihren confusen Vorstellungen ein Zusatz sind, und die oben beigebrachten Parallelversionen bestätigen es; ebenso das Vorkommen sonst im Stück fehlender Begriffe wie *cittam* und *vijñānam*. Dann folgt 233, 17 der Vers:

*ākāśasya tadā ghoṣaṁ taṁ vidvān kurute 'tmani
tad avyaktaṁ paraṁ brahma tac chāsvatam anuttamam.*

Unvermittelt wird der *ākāśa* wieder aufgegriffen, von dem es doch schon hiess, dass er in das *manas* eingeht (v. 13). Die Unzusammengehörigkeit ist offenkundig. Für uns gewinnt der Vers jetzt aber Bedeutung, denn wir vermögen ihn jetzt als ein altes Bruchstück zu erkennen, als Rest einer Lehre, wo der *ākāśa* die erste Schöpfung des *brahma* war und in Folge dessen unmittelbar wieder in dasselbe einging. Daneben stellt sich M XII 202, 1:

*akṣarāt khaṁ tato vāyus tato jyotiḥ tato jalam
jalāt prasūtā jagatī jagatyāṁ jāyate jagat.*

Und denselben Zustand zeigt uns auch die älteste Form dieser Evolutionslehre in der Taittirīya Upaniṣad II 1. Auch hier heisst es: *tasmād vā etasmād ātmana ākāśaḥ sambhūta ākāśād vāyur*

vāyor agnir agner āpo 'dbhyah prthivī prthivyā ośadhayaḥ u. s. w. Wir können also die Anfänge dieser Lehre bis in die älteren Upaniṣaden hinauf verfolgen und übersehen auch einige Stufen der Entwicklung, wie zuerst das *manas*, dann das *mahad bhūtam* in die Evolutionsreihe eingeschoben wurden.

Fassen wir kurz die bisherigen Ergebnisse zusammen! Unter den nichtsāṃkhyistischen Texten des Mahābhārata finden wir in M XII 231-233 eine Lehre, die ziemliche Bedeutung und Verbreitung gehabt haben muss. Und zwar lässt sich diese Lehre gut als eine Weiterentwicklung aus Vorstellungen der älteren Upaniṣaden auffassen; andererseits können wir sie mit keinem der späteren klassischen Systeme gleichsetzen. Von den übrigen nichtsāṃkhyistischen Texten zeigt M XII 239^{19a} nahe Verwandtschaft mit dieser Lehre. In M XII 182-187 tritt zwar die metaphysische Speculation ganz zurück, so viel aber sehen wir, dass trotz verschiedener Abweichungen ähnliche Anschauungen die Grundlage abgegeben haben.²⁰

Zum Schlusse müssen wir noch kurz auf eine besondere Gruppe von Texten eingehen, nämlich die Yogatexte. Hier finden wir neben deutlich sāṃkhyistischen Texten auch solche, die keine Spur von sāṃkhyistischem Einfluss zeigen oder wo höchstens ein vereinzelter Sāṃkhyaterminus hineingeraten ist wie M XII 195, M XII 240, M XIV 19. Ferner stehen neben Stellen, die mit den drei

^{19a} Der Text M XII 239 kennt offenbar die Accumulationstheorie nicht und hat die Parallelisierung von Sinnesorganen, Elementen und Eigenschaften der Elemente, was ihn näher zu den sāṃkhyistischen Texten rückt.

²⁰ Trotz der Verschiedenheit der Elementenlehre finden wir M XII 184, 32 & 35 Spuren einer Accumulationstheorie, welche die gewöhnliche Reihenfolge der Elementenentstehung voraussetzt und offenbar von M XII 231-233 abhängig ist, da dem älteren Sāṃkhya die Accumulationstheorie fremd ist. Ob es Reste einer älteren Form der Lehre sind und die vorliegende Form der Elementenentstehung bloss eine Neuerung darstellt oder ob äussere Einflüsse zu Grunde liegen, vermag ich nicht zu entscheiden.

Zu M XII 184, 26 ff. finden wir eine Parallelversion in M XIV 50, 38 ff. Diese kann aber dort nicht ursprünglich sein, sondern ist aus M XII 184 übernommen (darüber ausführlicher an anderer Stelle). Die teilweise besser erhaltene Parallelversion zeigt nun, dass die Accumulationstheorie wirklich auch der Lehre von M XII 182-187 zuzuschreiben ist. Auch sie enthält also dieselbe Elementenlehre wie M XII 231-233 und die Abweichung in der Entstehung der Elemente ist eine Neuerung.

antaḥkaraṇas des Sāṃkhya rechnen, wieder solche, die nur das *manas* berücksichtigen. Besonders auffallend ist das in Fällen, wo der selbe Gedanke bald in die eine bald in die andere Form gekleidet ist. So heisst es z. B. M XII 240, 18-20:

18. *pañcendriyāṇi saṃdhāya manasi sthāpayed yatih
yadaitāny avatiṣṭhanti manasasṭhāni cātmani*
19. *prasīdanti ca saṃsthāya tadā brahma prakāśate
vidhūma iva saptārcir²¹ āditya iva dīptimān*
20. *vidyuto 'gnir ivākāśe dṛśyate 'tmā tathātmani.*

Entsprechend heisst es M XII 308, 14-20:

14. *sthirikṛtyendriyagrāmaṃ manasā mithileśvara
mano buddhyā sthiraṃ kṛtvā pāśāna iva niścalaḥ*
15. *sthānuvac cāpy akampaḥ syād girivac²² cāpi niścalaḥ*
19. *tadā tam anupaśyeta yasmin dṛṣṭe nu²³ kathyate
hṛdayastho 'ntarātmēti jñeyo jñās tāta madvidhaiḥ*
20. *vidhūma iva saptārcir āditya iva raśmīmān
vidyuto 'gnir ivākāśe dṛśyate 'tmā tathātmani.*

M XIV 19, 48 steht:

*na tv asau cakṣuṣā grāhyo na ca sarvair apīndriyaiḥ
manasaiva pradīpena mahān ātmā pradṛśyate.*

Ganz ähnlich lesen wir M XII 328, 40:

*tamaḥparigataṃ veśma yathā dīpena dṛśyate
tathā buddhipradīpena śakya ātmā nirīksitum.*

Bemerkenswert ist auch folgendes. Gewöhnlich werden immer die niedrigeren Organe in den höheren unterdrückt, vgl. z. B. M XII 318, 14-16:

- indriyagrāmaṃ akhilaṃ manasy abhiniveśya ha*
15. *manas tathaivāhaṃkāre pratiṣṭhāpya narādhipa
ahaṃkāraṃ tathā buddhau buddhiṃ ca prakṛtāv api*
16. *evaṃ hi paṇḍitāḥ tato dhyāyanti kevalam.*

Wiederholt—auch in einigen von den oben angeführten Stellen—wird gesagt, dass das *manas* in der *buddhi* einzuschliessen ist.

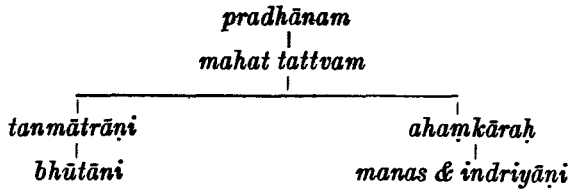
²¹ Sk.: *dīptārcir* Edns.

²² Edns.: *dāruvac* Sk.

²³ Edns.: *tu* Sk.

Ganz umgekehrt ist M XII 205, 10-17 von einem Feststehen der *buddhi* im *manas* die Rede. Das ist offenbar durch Einwirkung jener Lehren zu erklären, wo das *manas* die Hauptrolle bei der Concentration spielt. So viel ist aus all dem klar, dass in den Mahābhārātatexten auch Yogarichtungen vorliegen, die nicht auf sāmkyistischer Grundlage ruhen. Welche Lehre die theoretische Grundlage gab, lässt sich allerdings schwer sagen. Vor allem haben wir zwei Anhaltspunkte; die upaniṣadmässige Auffassung des *ātmā*, die sich an vielen Stellen kundgibt (vgl. z. B. M. XII 240, 35; M XIV 19, 48-49; auch in sāmkyistisch gefärbten Texten), und das *manas* als einziges psychisches Organ. Beides würde gut zu der oben behandelten Gruppe von Lehren stimmen, gibt aber doch nicht genug Sicherheit. Zum Glück finden wir von anderer Seite Hilfe, die uns in dieselbe Richtung weist.

Das klassische Yogasystem, wie es uns im Vyāsabhāṣyam vorliegt, zeigt trotz aller Anlehnung an die Metaphysik der Sāmkyalehre einige wichtige Abweichungen, die schon mehrere Gelehrte wie Jacobi (*Gött. gel. Anz.* 1919 S. 14-16) und Tuxen (bei Garbe, *Sāmkyaphil.* S. 44) zu der Annahme veranlasst haben, dass die Übernahme der Sāmkyalehren in das Yogasystem erst secundär ist, während der alte Yoga vom Sāmkyia wesentlich verschieden war. Für uns sind besonders wichtig die Abweichungen in der Lehre von der Weltentfaltung. Nach dem Vyāsabhāṣya (vor allem zu S. II 19) ergibt sich folgende Entwicklungsreihe:



Abgesehen von dem Hervorgehen der *tanmātras* aus dem *mahat tattvam*, nicht aus dem *ahamkāra*, stimmt das Schema ganz mit dem sāmkyistischen überein. Es finden sich aber doch wichtige Unterschiede. Zuerst in der Lehre von den *tanmātras*. Was hier so heisst, entspricht keineswegs den *tanmātras* des Sāmkyia. Denn Vyāsa sagt zu S. II 19, dass jedes nicht bloss eine Eigenschaft *śabda* u. s. w. besitzt, sondern ausserdem noch die Eigenschaften aller vorhergehenden, und Vācaspatimiśra bestätigt es. Das ist ein wichtiger Unterschied vom Sāmkyia. Andererseits ist

es aber genau dieselbe Lehre, die wir in dem oben behandelten Stücke M XII 231-233 festgestellt haben. Dass das einzelne Hervorgehen der Elemente auseinander nicht eigens erwähnt wird, beruht wohl nur auf der Knappheit der Aufzählung.²⁴ Sehr wichtig ist für uns ferner die Nachricht des Uddyotakara zu ND I 1, 29: *bhautikānindriyāṇīti yogānām*, die schon Jacobi (a. a. O. S. 15) für die ältere Form der Yogalehre in Anspruch nimmt. Auch diese Lehre steht im Widerspruch mit dem Sāṃkhya-system, stimmt aber mit der Lehre von M XII 231-233 überein. Ausserdem müssen wir noch die Lehre von den drei *antaḥkaraṇas* in Betracht ziehen. Tatsächlich ist das ganze System auf der Annahme nur eines Innenorganes aufgebaut, die drei *antaḥkaraṇas* spielen nur in der Lehre von Evolution und Resorption der Welt eine Rolle, wo wir auch sonst starke Einwirkung des Sāṃkhya sehen. Sie sind offenbar aus dem Sāṃkhya genommen und haben nur verwirrend gewirkt.²⁵ Ziehen wir daraus die Folgerungen für die Philosophie des älteren Yoga, so müssen wir in die Evolutionsreihe nur ein geistiges Organ, das *cittam* einsetzen. Das erklärt auch warum in der erhaltenen Form zwischen *avyaktam* und *tanmāstras* nur eine geistige Wesenheit steht. Damit erhält aber diese Evolutionsreihe eine Gestalt die fast völlig mit der Lehre von M XII 231-233 übereinstimmt. Wir dürfen also wohl schliessen, dass die theoretische Grundlage des älteren Yoga mit der Lehre von M XII 231-233 grosse Ähnlichkeit hatte.

²⁴ Dass Vācaspatimiśra über eine solche Reihenfolge der Entstehung nichts sagt, berechtigt zu keinen weiteren Schlüssen, denn Vācaspatimiśra zeigt Vyāsa gegenüber auch in anderen Punkten abweichende Anschauungen.

²⁵ So P. Tuxen, *Yoga* S. 84: Naar ikke Talen er om Materiens Produkters Udvikling, hvor man har følt sigt halvt bunden af Sāṃkhyalaærens Skema med dets tredelte indre Organ, eller om deres Tilbagegang i Urmaterien spiller dette Organ ingen Rolle: praktisk talt kender Yoga kun et intellektuelt Organ *citta*. Und bei Garbe, *Sāṃkhyaphil.* S. 44: Der Yoga dagegen hat sich, glaube ich, durch die Übernahme der Sāṃkhya-Metaphysik geändert, eine Übernahme, die z. B. durch die drei *antaḥkaraṇas* in die Lehre vom *citta* unheilbare Verwirrung gebracht hat.

IRANIANS AND SLAVS IN SOUTH RUSSIA

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ONE OF THE MOST REMARKABLE and least remarked achievements of oriental science during the present generation was the discovery that the Scythian and Sarmatian tribes, who are the first historically identified inhabitants of South Russia, belong to the Iranian branch of the Indo-European family and form the Western part of the Iranians. The full consequence of this discovery and the light it throws on the history of South Russia and Russia as a whole are yet to be investigated. We limit ourselves to a few remarks.

First, the supposition that in the Fourth Century A. D. the Scyths and Sarmatians were fully destroyed and dislodged from South Russia by the inroads of the Goths and the Huns is not confirmed by the facts.

The chief authority on this period, Jordanes (misspelt Iornandes), was an Iranian himself from the Alan tribe,¹ one of the chief divisions of the Sarmatae. He lived in the Sixth Century A. D. and he testifies that in his time the Alans occupied the shores of the Black Sea north of the Danube, the present Bessarabia, and partly south of the Danube (Dobrudja).

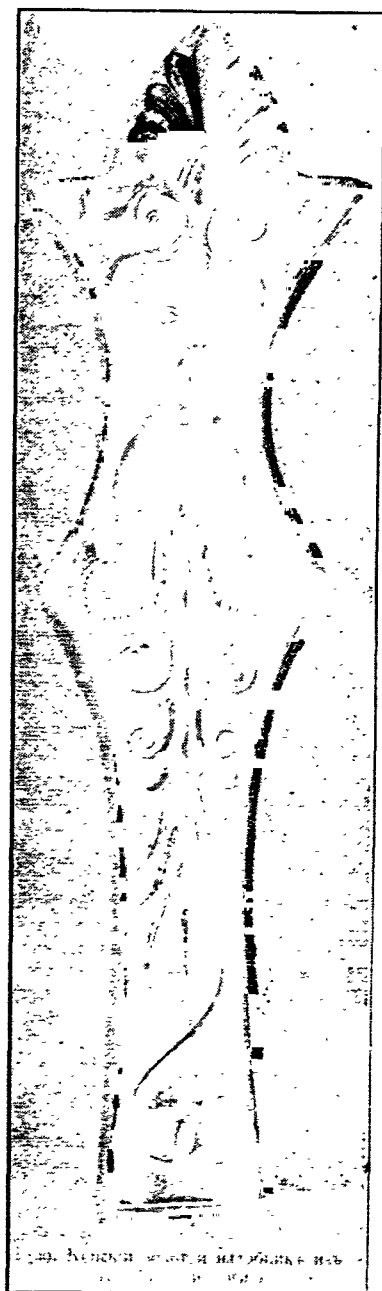
Then comes the testimony of the Russian chronicle of Nestor (Eleventh Century) mentioning for the Ninth Century three nations from the Danube to the Dniester, which seem to be Iranian.

One of them, the Douliebs, is Iranian by name. The word Doulieb is akin to the Indian Dhouleep, the Persian Sohreb, (*d: s*, as Dahaka: Zohak; *r: l*, as Parthian: Pehlevi), the Caucasian Galoub; the Slav version gives four spellings: Douleb, Oulieb, Oleb, and Glieb, which shows that the name is not Slavonic.

Then the Oulich, or Ouglich, on the Bug, which reminds of Olvia, or Olbia, *chi* being the suffix.

Finally the Tivertsi on the Tyras, the present river Dniester.

¹ Jordan is an Iranian name. The name of his father, corrupted in the manuscripts, led to various suggestions (Minns, Mierow, Mommsen).



In the Tenth Century, the chronicle mentions among the Russian representatives who signed the treaty with Byzantium the names: FROUTAN (Feridoun, Thraetaona), Sfendr or Sfaindr (Asfendiar), Istr, Prasten, Frasten, or Fursten (Roustem) and other Iranian names.²

Among the idols erected in Kiev by the Prince Vladimir, before his conversion to Christianity, we find Simarg.³ Simarg is the Simourg of the Persians, the Shaena Marega of Avesta, the Phoenix, a divine bird, or more exactly a winged griffon, as it is explicitly stated by the Bundeshesh. It is interesting to note that the Russian chronicle does not give the Persian form Simourg, but the Sarmatian Simarg; *marg* means bird in modern Ossetic, which is the last remnant of the Sarmatian language.

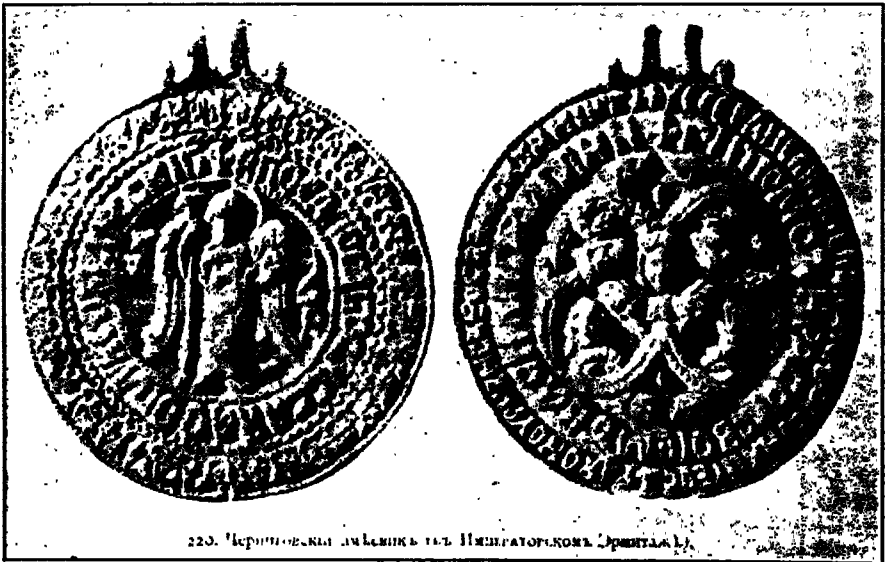
But the richest evidence is given by the Russian legends (Byliny), the sculptures on the exterior of the churches of Vladimir-Souzdal (Eleventh Century), and the Scythian legends and sculptured ornaments in gold and silver from the Scythian tumuli. The chief

² *Lavrentievskaja Lietopis*, 1897, p. 46.

³ *Idem.*, p. 77.

deity is the goddess who is half-woman, but the lower part of whose body is that of a snake.

She is mentioned by Herodotus as the mother of the whole Scythian race. Her husband was Heracles. Russian legend mentions a divine snake with twelve trunks. Undoubtedly Herodotus knew it, but was afraid to mention it, because of its association with the Greek national hero Heracles. The Russian legend and the Scythian monuments give an identical representation. Russian art continued to represent the twelve-snake deity on gold and silver amulets as late as the Eighteenth and possibly the Nine-



teenth Century (Kondakov and Tolstoi, *Russian Antiquities in Monuments of Art*, Fasc. V, pp. 161, 162).

Ossetic folklore in the Nineteenth Century knows women who can change themselves partly or entirely into snakes, and in South Russia there is still the belief that witches have tails, the last remnant of the snake.

The chief fantastic deities of Scythians, the snake woman, the Griffon Simarg, the winged horse, with wings concealed under the skin and projected during flight, and the cat woman (possibly panther woman) are represented in the Vladimir sculptures and described by Russian folklore.

Iranian influence was prominent in Russian popular belief and pictorial representations and, along with Christian Byzantine influence, contributed to create Russian art and civilization. I may mention only the slave trade and later the serfdom and feudal landowning which are also derived from Iranian institutions.

We know that the Slavs in the Eighth Century A. D. were a primitive agricultural people with patriarchal organization on democratic lines. It is doubtful whether they had hereditary princes. Generally they were ruled by a popular assembly and elected chiefs.

On the contrary the Scythians and Sarmatians had royal dynasties (Rostovzev, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, pp. 72 and 120), and a powerful feudal nobility, who owned large estates, and carried on extensive trade in slaves and cereals. Most of the common people were serfs or slaves. The social distinction of classes was very sharp and so was the economic. In the Ninth Century, when prince Oleg took possession of Kiev and brought there the infant prince Igor, a sudden change came. In the course of the single lifetime of prince Igor Russia, or at least the southern part of it, was turned into a strong monarchy, with nobles bearing Norman, Iranian and other foreign names (the Slavonic names were very few), with an important class of merchants, who affixed their names to diplomatic treaties, with slavery in full bloom and a growing serfdom. Evidently the Normans, who composed a small armed minority among the Slavs, found the Scythian political organization extremely convenient for the consolidation of their dominion and readily adopted it. It was fully applied in South Russia. As we advance to the North, away from Iranian influence, and enter the regions that were purely Slavonic or mixed with Finns, we find the new organization weaker and weaker. Moscow never had regular slaves and serfdom developed slowly and with great difficulty. Novgorod maintained its full political freedom till it was overthrown in the Fifteenth Century by the Grand Duke of Moscow. Normans created the Russian state by introducing Iranisation into its political and economic life. This explains the rapid growth of Kiev and its quick decay. The Nineteenth Century brought the emancipation of serfs, the Twentieth has seen the destruction of the remnants of Norman and Iranian traditions, the sudden disappearance of which shattered completely the Russian state.

BRIEF NOTE

Rājaśekhara on Śiśunāka

In *JAOS* 42, pp. 194-7, I have given reasons for thinking that Śiśunāka (*var.* Śiśunāga), who according to the Purāṇas ascended the throne of Magadha c. 700 B. C., was an Elamite prince, the name *Śiśunāka* being equivalent to the designation *Šušinak* borne by Elamite sovereigns. A corroboration from tradition seems to be provided by a passage in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, a Sanskrit work of c. 900 A. D. to which Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī has kindly drawn my attention. The work has been edited as No. 1, Gaekwād's Oriental series (Baroda, 1916) by Messrs. C. D. Dalal and R. A. Shastri. At p. 50 occurs the passage in question:

. . . . *apabhraṃśabhāṣaṇapravaṇaḥ paricāra-kavargaḥ, samāgadha-bhāṣābhiniveśinyāḥ paricārikāḥ, prākṛta-saṃskṛtabhāṣāvīda antaḥ-purikāḥ; mitrāṇi cāsya sarvabhāṣāvīdi bhavēyuh svabhā-vane hi bhāṣāniyamam yathā prabhurvidadhātī tathā bhavati.*

śrūyate hi Magadheṣu Śiśunāgo nāma rājā: tena duruccārā-naṣṭau varṇānapāsyā antaḥpura eva pravartito niyamāḥ, ṭakārā-dayaścatvāro mūrdhanyāstrīyavarjamuṣmāṇastrayaḥ kṣakāraśceti.

Translation

“ The (male) servants (of the king-poet should be) versed in speaking Apabhraṃśa, the (female) servants (should) attend with the Māgadha language (on their lips). The inmates of the harem should know the Prākṛta and the Saṃskṛta languages, and his friends should know all languages. . . . In his own house, however, the linguistic rules which the master prescribes are followed.

(For instance) it is said that in Magadha a king named Śiśunāga prescribed for his harem a rule excluding the following eight letters as being difficult to pronounce:—the four cerebrals beginning with *ṭa* (i. e. *ṭa*, *ṭha*, *ḍa* and *ḍha*), the three sibilants leaving out the third (i. e. *śa*, *ṣa* and *ha*) and also *kṣa*.”

Two points in this remarkable passage demand particular attention. In the first place, we are told that the exclusions were sanctioned by Śiśunāka on account of the difficulty in pronuncia-

tion, suggesting, primarily, the operation of Prakritic influence. In the second place, we are informed that the linguistic legislation was devised for the royal seraglio, for ladies of rank. Consequently, if we must think of Prakrits, we must leave out their vulgar varieties. Māgadhī, which by its name appears entitled to our foremost consideration, is thus definitely ruled out; and the retention by Śiśunāka of the dental *sa* in preference to the cerebral *ṣa* and the palatal *śa*—the last-named being a characteristic of Māgadhī—as well as his non-compliance with the peculiar Māgadhī rule rejecting altogether the sound *ra* is satisfactorily accounted for.¹ Paisāci must follow suit, since it has no superior status in this connexion; and, if Grierson is right in locating its home in Dardistan, its claim becomes geographically inadmissible. The dialects of the North-Western area which retained the three sibilants are a far cry. In fact, if we remember the Puranic statement that Śiśunāka came *via* Benares which was entrusted with the care of his son, we should hardly hesitate to look upon Saurasenī—the dialect reserved for use, in Indian dramaturgy, by ladies of rank—as the inspirer of Śiśunāka. The salient feature of Saurasenī, as indeed of all Prakrits except Māgadhī, Paisāci and the Prakrits of the North-West (all of which must be excepted in the present connexion), is the absence of *śa*, *ṣa* and *kṣa*—three out of the eight letters expunged by Śiśunāka. The same feature is also found in Pāli; and in so far as Pāli crystallizes in literary form the tendency of the conversational dialect which was with little local variation employed in

¹ Māgadhī is specially reserved for inferior characters in the dramas; even in the passage we are discussing it is assigned to menials. The solitary instance of early epigraphic Māg. found at Rāmgarh proceeds from a *rūpadakṣa* (artisan or moneyer) and is associated with a *devadāsī* (temple-prostitute). And the few seals from Patna and elsewhere employing *śa* for *sa* do not establish for the dialect a position in cultured society. It seems that among Māg. characteristics the replacement of *sa* and *ṣa* by *śa* had the most vulgar associations, since Aśoka does not adopt it though he adopts the others (*la* for *ra*, and nom. sing. of masc. *a*-stem ending in *-e*). We must remember, too, that Aśoka needed more to conform to popular speech as he aimed at successful missionary propaganda through written edicts intelligible to ordinary people, whereas Śiśunāka was framing an orthoepic rule to be followed indoors. The absence of *śa*, *ṣa* and *kṣa* from all the recensions of Aśoka's edicts except those of the North-West shows that the tendency to drop out these sounds was already in the 3d century B. C. general and widespread.

the area over which Buddhist propaganda, in its earliest stage, exercised the utmost influence, we may regard the tendency to drop out the sounds *śa*, *ṣa* and *kṣa* as very anciently characterizing the Prakritic usage of the locality with which the name of Śiśunāka is prominently associated.² We may therefore ascribe these three exclusions to a desire on the part of that prince to conform to Prakritic usage in refined society.

But a like explanation will not apply to the cases of the other five sounds set aside by Śiśunāka, namely, *ha*, *ṭa*, *ṭha*, *ḍa* and *ḍha*. The sound of *ha* is very prominent in Prakrit, and cerebralization of dentals is a well-marked characteristic manifested by Indo-Aryan speech even as early as Vedic times; so that, in eliminating *ha* and the cerebral group from his harem, Śiśunāka appears distinctly un-Indian. In short, he shows himself accustomed to a non-Indic tongue wherein *ha* and the cerebrals were taboo.

In attempting a more specific definition of this tongue, our choice is necessarily limited by geographical as well as historical considerations. Old Persian could have been adverted to, had it not contained its indispensable *ha*. We must first think of Elam, certainly before we think of Assyria or Ionia. And, if we find that in the Susian language *ha* and the cerebrals do not occur,³

² Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, pp. 153-4) considers Pāli to be based ultimately on the Kosala dialect in the form spoken in Avanti. Lüders (*SBAW*, 1913, S. 100-3) and Sylvain Lévi (*JA*, 1912, p. 512) think that the Buddha's teachings, originally expressed in his native dialect (Old Ardha-māgadhi or 'Kosalan'), were afterwards translated into the "Western" dialect and then found their way to Ceylon through the instrumentality of Mahinda, as tradition asserts. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Professor of Linguistics at the Calcutta University, with whom I have had the advantage of a thorough discussion in preparing this Note, is of opinion that Pāli is based on (early) Śaurasenī—the refined speech *par excellence* and the *lingua franca* of those days like its modern representative Hindusthānī—into which the Buddha's teachings were rendered before their transmission to Ceylon.

³ It seems that Susian actually did not contain *ha* and the cerebrals. See Bertin, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 93 and reff. What Bertin transliterates as *h* he describes as an 'aspirated guttural' (p. 95) and is distinguished by him from 'the simple aspirate *h*' (p. 95) or the 'guttural spirant *h*' (p. 96), both *h* and *h* being found in Old Persian. It is noteworthy that, in the trilingual Persian inscriptions, proper names beginning with *h* in Persian have lost the aspirate in their Elamite correspondents. Susian *š* was, it is true, very nearly Indic *śa*; but its presence in Susian

we should attribute the exclusion of these sounds by Śiśunāka to the influence of that tongue rather than to any other source, particularly since his very name has a Susian appearance, and historical indications point to the possibility of an Elamite penetration into India at that period.⁴ We should thus be able to claim that, according to the tradition handed down by Rājasekhara, Śiśunāka was in language a Šušinak. The weight to be attached to such tradition is naturally uncertain. But, as the very existence of Śiśunāka is attested by literary tradition of a date not earlier than the 4th century A. D., and the continuity of the tradition is borne witness to by references in the Purāṇas (5th cent.) and Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* ⁵ (7th cent.), it would seem to be quite in keeping with the method of historical criticism to view the testimony of Rājasekhara as part of the entire evidence.

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does not affect our argument, since its exclusion by Śiśunāka is sufficiently accounted for by Prakritic influence, as I have shown.

⁴ *JAOS*, vol. 42, pp. 194 ff.

⁵ Chap. VI. The tradition contemplates a foreign invasion of Magadha in the last year of Kākavarṇi, son of Śiśunāka (c. 630 B. C.). The invaders are called Yavanas.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Un papyrus médical copte, publié et traduit par M. ÉMILE CHASSINAT: being Vol. 32 of the *Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*, sous la direction de M. Georges Foucart. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1921. 15 + 395 pp.; 20 plates.

This is a fine folio volume, the result of many years of painstaking research. It is a real treasure-house of information as to products available in a period of history on which our information is relatively scanty—that of the early Caliphate in Egypt. Egyptians had gained a high reputation in medicine, and several formularies of the Pharaonic period have been discovered, including the Papyrus Ebers, revealing an advanced therapeutic science. Later Egyptian literature in these lines is, however, very scanty. There is a small parchment manuscript in the Vatican library, but the most extensive is the papyrus on which M. Chassinat's work is based, which was found at Meshaiikh. This shows that there was an unbroken tradition of science between Pagan and Christian periods in Egypt. Native, Greek and Christian influences were combined. The Mohammedan rulers in Egypt placed much confidence in the Christian physicians. Their works were translated into Arabic. It is notable that few texts of this sort in Coptic are known, but this seems to be due to accidental disappearance. This Coptic manuscript contains Arabic formulae in addition to the earlier authorities. It is written in the Sahidic dialect, in language which is clear and simple, but less pure than that of the ecclesiastical writings. The vocabulary is largely new and contains technical expressions difficult of interpretation. The identification of drugs and products is also difficult. As is well known, scholars and others frequently applied the same name to different substances of which their knowledge was also defective. The manuscript contains some alchemical symbols, also pharmaceutical.

According to the account given by M. Chassinat of the discovery of this manuscript, it was purchased by Bouriant for the Library of the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology at Cairo in the winter of 1892-3. It appears that peasants had discovered a ruined brick chamber at Meshaiikh which occupies a part of the site of the

ancient Lepidotonpolis. Within this chamber was a pottery jar, the mouth of which was sealed with clay, and within the jar were a roll and some loose scraps of written papyrus. These the natives separated for sale, and some of the pieces came to Bouriant, who realized their value and after considerable effort succeeded in getting possession of most of them.

The manuscript itself is a single roll 0.27 meter wide by 2.48 meters long, covered with writing. The text is in long lines with a margin at the left side only. The prescriptions are usually at the beginning of a line, with ornamented initial letter, and a closing sign, in form a double circle. There are 420 lines in the treatise and 237 separate medical formulae. It is the largest work of this kind that has yet seen the light. The manuscript dates approximately from the 9th or 10th century. There are indications that the writer knew both Arabic and Greek, in addition to Coptic. Its mention of *galangal* and of other Arabian products indicates that it was written after the great work of translation undertaken at Bagdad under the Abbassid Caliphs, which was completed during the 9th century. M. Chassinat thinks that the author probably lived in the second half of the 10th century. He recalls that after the conquest of Egypt the Copts were rather slow in acquiring the Arabic language.

The treatise is written anonymously. The author was evidently a practising physician, as his father before him, and was familiar with the earlier medical writers. In its general plan it is not a medical treatise properly so-called, but rather a sort of formulary of general therapeutics. Its chapter headings resemble those of the Papyrus Ebers, and its structure is similar to that of medical texts of the Pharaonic period in such matters as the classification of ailments, etc. Its *materia medica* is abundant and varied. Its medicaments specially named are few. These usually appear under Greek names, though some are Coptic or Arabic. The author rarely alludes to his sources. In two cases the names of physicians are attached to his prescriptions. He shows a predilection for medical writings in the Arabic language, often preferring them to Greek works which he translates or copies. One formula found in Galen M. Chassinat traces to an Eastern translation, of which traces appear also in Avicenna. It is impossible to tell from this manuscript how far it represents purely Egyptian medicine. Progress

of the science in the early Christian centuries remains almost unknown. But the manuscript does show a profound knowledge of medicine in Egypt since the time of the Vatican manuscript.

The author frequently uses a cryptographic alphabet of the Byzantine Greek period already known from a Greek manuscript also discussed by Hyvernat. In this cipher the 24 letters of the Greek alphabet are divided into three rows of eight letters each, *a* to *th*, *i* to *p*, and *r* to *ō*, and the regular order of the letters in the three rows is reversed so that *th* replaces *a*, *p* replaces *i*, *ō* replaces *r*, etc.; but as this is an easy cipher to read, there are letters prefixed from time to time changing the order, so that a key would be necessary. There are also five additional characters which remain apart and hold their regular order. The words written according to this system have certain peculiarities. Almost always they are fully vocalized. *L* is assimilated to *r* more often than elsewhere in the text where the cipher is not used. M. Chassinat gives a complete comparative alphabetical table. The transcription of Arabic words is done with care, but is often phonetic rather than orthographic, and a detailed concordance is attached.

The weights and measures in the receipts in this treatise are on the Graeco-Roman system and the units are the pound, the ounce, the drachm, the scruple and the obol. For liquid measure, we find the *lak* and the *ouath*, corresponding to the Greek *cotyle* and *oxybaphon*, the Latin *acetabulum*. The manuscript is provided with a complete index of words in Coptic, Greek and Arabic transcript, also *materia medica* and formulae.

Space forbids any general discussion of the 237 separate formulae contained in the treatise. A few items of interest may be noted. Several remedies for eye trouble are given, which incorporate myrrh and gum arabic, and M. Chassinat, under the item myrrh, discusses the *anti* of the earlier hieroglyphs, which he thinks was frankincense because myrrh was not supposed to have reached Egypt until comparatively late. He notes that it does not appear at any rate under a separate name in the Papyrus Harris, but does appear frequently in the embalming ritual and in various temple inscriptions of the earlier dynasties. It might here be suggested that myrrh and frankincense are produced in the same regions of southern Arabia and Somaliland, and that a more probable classification of the hieroglyphic nomenclature would be to suppose that

these gums were separated according to the size, shape and color of the piece rather than the botanical orders of the trees which produced them, with which the Egyptians had no direct personal acquaintance. It seems unnecessary to postulate in primitive times any such arbitrary separation of fragrant gums from the same source of supply as the contrary view would require.

The author knows the Eastern camphor and aloes, but M. Chassinat notes that the Copts, although they knew and used the word *kaphora*, also applied to those substances another word *zopissa* which usually refers to a totally different substance, in Greek usage usually a barnacle. For aloes the author uses the Arabic word *sabir*, which was applied to quite a number of bitter things, including myrrh, dragon's blood, Socotran aloes and even squills.

Among other eye remedies appears a word *sitraj*, which M. Chassinat identifies with the Indian pepperwort, but in other works there was an Indian *sitraj* the description of which sounds rather like a product of the cinnamon laurel. There is frequently prescribed the impure oxide of zinc, a sublimate, which was known throughout the lands of the Caliphate as *tutiya* and was taken usually from furnaces where copper had been refined, but also sometimes direct from the mines. This word seems to be more or less equated to the Latin *cadmia*.

Among the ingredients in analgesic plasters is the familiar word *galbanum*, another term which seems to have been applied to many things covering numerous twigs or roots having a merely external similarity. M. Chassinat renders as *minium* the Coptic word *silikon*, which is the Greek *serikon*, which was given to the red oxides of both iron and lead, and also, of course, to the raw silk of Turkestan.

For litharge is used the Coptic *lytharkyron*, elsewhere in this manuscript *lithalkyron*; in other Coptic works it appears *tharkiron*.

For a general eye tonic a single prescription may be quoted in full:

"Good powder for the eye; ginger, galangal, clove, Indian nard; one drachm of each; grind well; add wine for seven days, mixing every day, then let it dry; grind again. It will work for thee by itself morn and eve; it is wheat for thee, O my son."

For nard we find the Coptic *nartostachos*, a corruption of the Greek *nardostachys* and elsewhere in the manuscript this is given

the Arabic synonym *nardīn ṭīb*; there is yet another nard *piartos-trochos*, perhaps a corruption from the same Greek original, but equated with the Arabic *sunbul at-ṭīb*, and this Arabic word appears in the Coptic *soumpoul*. Here there may be some effort to distinguish between the spikenard of the Himalayas and the lemon-grass nard of the Malabar Coast.

For cataract there is prescribed *carvi*, presumably our *caraway*, which appears elsewhere as *al-khamoun kharmenei*, and M. Chassinat observes that 'Abd ar-Razzaq says *karmany* cummin is caraway and cardamom, which latter appears in several medical texts to be identical with the Ethiopian cummin. Others say that caraway is Armenian cummin, and the confusion seems to arise from the application of the word *kamoun* to other vegetable substances than cummin.

The original sense of *karmany* is uncertain. Personal correspondence with Sir D. E. Wacha, a prominent Parsee of Bombay, informs me that it is still a popular remedy and condiment in western India. Some would derive the word from the Greek *Karmania*, but Avicenna distinguishes *karmany* cummin from Persian and says one is black and the other white. The Persians, however, associate the name *karmany* with caraway and quite possibly Persia produces two varieties *farsi* and *karmani*, both of which were confused with the Ethiopian cummin.

The following prescription may be referred to modern beauty parlors: "To remove eyebrows: take three ticks from a black ox; pull out the hairs, rub with the blood from the ticks; they will not grow again."

One prescription is, "*pterikon* for the eyes; *cadmia* 2 drachms, *malabathrum* 4 drachms, *sal ammoniac* 1 drachm, *copper* 1 drachm." M. Chassinat thinks that the word *pterikon* should be read *pterygion*, making it out to be an affection of the conjunctiva. In this prescription it is interesting to note the Coptic word *marabathron* which is given the synonym "water of entēg." It seems difficult to identify this substance with the *malabathron* of the Greeks, which, according to Pliny and the author of the *Periplus*, was brought in great volume from the ports of Travancore. I have supposed that this was the leaf of the Indian laurel, of which cinnamon was the bark, though a Tamil correspondent suggests to me that it may more probably have been the sheath of the nutmeg.

Entēg, however, is a word usually applied to the rye-grass or the wild fennel. In another manuscript the trade word *malabathron* is corrupted into *marathron*, showing how unsafe it is to identify such words with any single substance at different periods of history. The word appears in numerous remedies for the eyes, and its name was given specifically to an eye salve. M. Chassinat notes that in the Bohairic Scala it appears as *philon karabatroun*, evidently a corruption from Greek *phyllon malabathrou*. Whatever this substance was, the name was often abridged to *phyllon*, and mediaeval scholars knew it as *phyllon indikon* or *folium indicum*. Pliny distinguishes three sorts, the Syrian, Egyptian and Indian, but is very vague in his descriptions.

That extraction of teeth was more of an undertaking in those days than now is indicated by a prescription for a tooth to be extracted by iron; namely, that hellebore of good quality should be applied to the region of the cheek about the affected tooth. Apply, says the writer, and you will be surprised. It is true that hellebore has a certain analgesic quality. In Coptic the word is written *ereborou*.

Indian sandalwood appears in several prescriptions. Here the native *chandana*, Arabic *sandal* has become in Coptic *santel*.

The business side of the profession crops up in the prescription for a diseased mouth; alum and dill, each 1 drachm, to which is appended the remark, "God knows how good this remedy is. Take your pay."

In other prescriptions M. Chassinat renders as *minium* the word *pereš*, which is older than the Greek or Roman period and is found in Pharaonic Greek medical texts. Brugsch renders it *coriander*, but Loret after studying a recipe for *Kyphi* on the temple at Edfu, found the phrase *pereš* otherwise called grains of *ouan*, which he identified with the juniper berry. However, the Papyrus Ebers gives a hint that there were two *pereš*, the one vegetable and the other mineral, and in this case a mineral substance seems to be indicated.

In several of the prescriptions earlier folklore seems to be latent, as, for instance, a powder to stanch the flow of blood which consists of charcoal and the burned hair of a woman; and for a persistent ulcer, wax, sandal, hog fat and split mouse. Split fowl, cat or rabbit may be found as domestic remedies for wounds in many a

backwoods settlement today, but a decoction of split mouse as one ingredient in a salve seems an over-refinement.

In an antidote for poisons is the Coptic *pharmagia*, identical, of course, with Greek *pharmakeia*, not usually limited to poisonous drugs.

In another prescription for a healing plaster the items are scoria of silver, oil, distilled vinegar and fresh *boi*. In M. Chassinat's index this is noted merely as "a drug not identified." The word, however, seems to be Persian, and its appearance in this Coptic text is of interest. *Boi* or *bod* was an ingredient of incense in the Zoroastrian ritual, and some have identified it with the *bdellium* of Baluchistan. Laufer suggests that the word may be more general in its nature, that its literal meaning is simply "odor," and cites West's translation of the Bundahišn to the effect that whatever root or gum or wood is scented, as frankincense, varast, kust or costus, sandalwood, cardamom, marjoram, camphor, orangemint and others of this general nature they call a scent or *bod*.

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Parallelism in Isaiah. Chapters 1-35 and 37. 22-35. The Reconstructed Text (Hebrew). By WILLIAM POPPER. (University of California Publications. Semitic Philology. Vol. 1, No. 5, pp. 1*-116*.) Berkeley, Cal.: UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS, 1923. xi + 116 pp.

The reconstruction of any Hebrew text of the Bible is, to say the least, precarious and problematic, and many a scholar who has trod this thorny path is aware of the numerous pitfalls confronting him. But Prof. William Popper is fortunate in having chosen, comparatively speaking, the fairly well preserved and smooth text of Isaiah and in having as his sole guide, whether rightly or wrongly, the well-known principle of parallelism. Moreover, he does not claim, as so many others do presumptuously, to have reconstructed the actual and original text of Isaiah, but to have set up a tolerably good and correct text "nearer in spirit to the author's original" than what he styles "the evident Masoretic error," to serve as a suitable text-book for college students who find it difficult

to wade through the apparent incoherencies and seeming discrepancies of the Masoretic text. As such his attempt is highly commendable and certainly deserves unstinted credit, especially if we consider the great amount of laborious investigation and painstaking research underlying a work of this kind. Besides, a good deal of ingenuity has to be exercised in order to attain the proper expression and exact phraseology. Evidently Popper, through a long and intensive study of the Book of Isaiah, has made himself familiar with the style and diction of that prophet, for in his reconstruction he generally attains a considerable degree of precision and exactitude.

However, this attainment is only partly due to his own effort. As is inevitable with a universally commented book like Isaiah, the editor utilizes to a very large degree the accumulated corrections and emendations of his erudite predecessors, though for one reason or another he fails to state his authorities in each case. Thus he leans heavily on Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti, not to mention elder luminaries like Delitzsch, Graetz, and others, yet he never mentions them by name. This is a considerable drawback in the book, for the average reader may be led to assume that all the emendations are original. Perhaps there may be some justification for not indicating sources in the edition of a text for students, but it is certainly puzzling that even in Popper's detailed commentary to this edition published some time ago (University of California Publications, Semitic Philology, Vol. 1, No. 3 (August 1918), Part II, pp. 267-444, to chapters 1-10; No. 4 (April 1923), Part III, pp. 445 ff., to chapters 11-35) no authorities and sources are given. The critical reader thus has a task to determine the origin and provenance of each departure from the received text. After a careful investigation I am led to the conclusion that the bulk of the emendations are borrowed, in each case from good and reliable authorities, originality consisting largely in dexterous transposition and logical rearrangement of the Masoretic text, which is by no means a slight and negligible feat.

Of course, not all the corrections and emendations, as will be seen further on, should be approved and accepted as final; and as to the logical arrangement, it has its demerit as well as merit. For by no means should a student be led to believe that the ancient Hebrews, or for that matter all Orientals, were very fond of strictly

logical constructions. The opposite is true. Hence the apparent confusion and seeming difficulty in biblical texts, particularly in the Prophets, whose mode of delivery under a highly strung tension of ecstasy was necessarily staccato-like and disconnected. And so any rationalization and stratification of the biblical text does away with one of its cardinal characteristics. And not only this: Popper, like many others, presupposes strict regularity as a main feature of the biblical text, with hardly a departure from this regularity. But as a matter of fact the Hebrew Scriptures are replete with irregularities and discrepancies, grammatical, syntactical, and rhetorical. Thus in his reconstruction he goes to the point of constantly harmonizing the gender of the subject and predicate in accordance with strict Hebrew grammar, forgetting that it is the irregular construction and frequent disagreement which is characteristic of biblical Hebrew. Moreover, Popper seems to assume that under no circumstances would the prophet have used the same word in both members of the parallelism, which is absurd. There are too many cases of such repetition to assume that all of them are due to faulty transmission. Are we still to learn that monotony is one of the delights of the East, just as variety is the craving of the West? And finally, the principle of parallelism. Ever since the days of Lowth the Western world had been made aware of the indisputable fact that parallelism is a dominant feature of Hebrew poetry. But surely, it is not the sole principle. Not all oracles are in parallels. As suggested by Dr. Louis I. Newmann, Popper's collaborator in *Studies in Biblical Parallelism* (1918), there may have been also another stylistic and rhetorical principle in the prophetic utterances beside that of parallelism. The numerous poetical phrases and passages in the Prophets that lack a parallel cannot all be due to faulty transmission or the carelessness of amanuenses. For Prof. Popper therefore to be guided solely by the principle of parallelism, to the point of letting parallelism suggest the corrections and emendations, evinces a high degree of partiality and preconceived notion.

That this strictly logical and uncompromising attitude quite often leads the editor astray will be seen from the following remarks on some of the emendations and departures from the received text:

1.2b the addition of בְּנֵי, for the sake of parallelism, is unwarranted, as בְּנִים may stand for both sons and daughters, comp.

BDB. s. v., § 2.—v. 12b מִדְּכֶם for מִדְּכֶם is unnecessary, as both may be equivalent, see *BDB. s. v. יר*, § 5.—v. 15 שְׂפָתֵיכֶם שָׁקַר דִּבְרוּ supplied by the editor, is a weak parallel to יָדֵיכֶם מֵלֹאן.—v. 25b, P. reads לִפְךָ with the Septuagint, but εἰς καθαρὸν probably stands for בְּכָר, misread from the masoretic בְּכָר.—v. 31b, taking חָסֵן to refer to a tree, P. emends וְעֵנָפוֹ to וְעֵנָפוֹ, but all ancient sources from the Septuagint and Targum down refer it to wicked people and their work.—2.6a P.'s reconstruction is hardly felicitous: the introduction of the dispensable אֲדָם clogs the already lengthy stichos, while the practical identity of עֲדִינִים in a and עֲרִי in b adds weakness to the parallelism.—v. 16b שְׂכִיּוֹת, for which Graetz suggested סְפִינּוֹת in view of G.'s πλοῖα, probably meant some sea-faring vessel (cf. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 50, n. 3), and the emendation וְעַל כָּל צִיִּים אֲדִירִים is uncalled for.—3.8b the supplied phrase לְשׁוֹנָם מְעֻלָּה אֵל יְהוָה is hardly satisfactory, despite the reference to 26.10 and 59.3: these two passages show clearly that מְעֻלָּה may be said of a person, while of a tongue it is proper to say חֲהַגָּה מְעֻלָּה.—v. 17b there is hardly a doubt that the word פְּתוּחַן, for which P. substitutes שְׂחָרָן, has been transmitted correctly and should stand as it is, meaning *pudenda muliebria*; in one way or another it is connected with the primitive Semitic root פת "to open" and must have meant originally "orifice."—v. 24b as pointed out by Stade (*ZAW.* 26, 133) כִּי = כִּי, meaning "stigma," is an appropriate antithesis to יָפִי; why emend it to בְּכִי?—5.1b P. emends דְּוֹרִי to דְּוֹרִי with Cersoy, but as shown by Lowth, Cheyne, and Budde, דְּוֹרִי is an abbreviated form of דְּוֹרִים = plur. abstr.—v. 7b מִשְׁפָּחָה, following ἀνομία of G, is emended to מִשְׁפָּךְ with the implication of שֹׁפֵךְ דָּם, but nowhere in the Bible does מִשְׁפָּךְ in itself refer to violence or lawlessness; for a satisfactory explanation of מִשְׁפָּחָה comp. Gray's Commentary to Isaiah *ad loc.* and Gesenius-Buhl¹⁶ *s. v.*—8.6 P. follows Giesebrecht in coupling מִשְׁוֹשׁ with לֹאֵט in an adverbial sense and eliminating the rest of the sentence; but against this radical step it may be maintained, in the interest of parallelism, that in וּמִשְׁוֹשׁ(וֹ) there is hidden some rare verb of a meaning similar to מִאֵס.—v. 9b P. invents הִתְחַגְּרוּ וְרָעוּ for the second הִתְחַגְּרוּ וְרָעוּ, but there is no reason why a repetition of the same phrase should be looked upon with suspicion; there are nu-

merous cases of such repetitions in the Bible, and especially in Isaiah (comp. George Buchanan Gray, *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, p. 254, n. 2).—v. 14a P. reads with Lagarde למקש (from נקש and meaning “stumbling-block”) for למקדש, though this word does not occur anywhere in Hebrew literature.—9.4a במרמס for ברעש is indefensible, and even for the purpose of parallelism Graetz’s ברשע is far superior.—v. 16a either Lagarde’s יפסח = יפכח or Kittel’s ישמח = Arab. *samuḥa* meaning *clemens fuit* does justice to the parallelism and it is not necessary to introduce a third parallel לא יהן.—v. 17b the masoretic ויתאככו is superior to the editor’s ויתאבכו: true, התאכך is a *hapax legomenon*, but that is no reason for rejecting it; Luzzatto may be right that ויתאככו = ויתאככו with the easing of the harsh sounding כ through a soft א, or with Haupt it may even be equivalent to ויתאפכו and have been formed by Isaiah in assonance with the preceding סככי; as to גאות, the *šureq* is no doubt in assonance to the *šureq* in ויתאככו, and the word should read גאות or גאות = גאות, cf. Ehrlich *ad loc.*—10.4 it is interesting that P. does not follow Lagarde’s ingenious suggestion, but, like Graetz, follows the ancient versions in reading כרע and תפלל.—v. 5b ומטה הוא ביד ועמי “a staff is he in the hand of my wrath” is hardly admissible, יד “power” not being used of an abstract noun.—v. 33a P. follows Duhm in reading במעצרה, but undoubtedly Masoretic במערצה is correct, although not in the accepted sense of “with terror” (Ibn Ganah, Kimḥi, Luzzato, JPS version), but rather in the sense of Rashi ושובר כלי משהית העורץ ושובר to which the preformative מ seems to point; is it not feasible to connect it with Arabic *ḡarada*, V or VII, “be broken (bough)” ?—11.4b ברוה שפתי (for כשבט פיו) is a weak parallel to ויהנה and hardly suits the verb וירבה.—v. 6 P. invents a verb ורבק at the beginning of b, a verb occurring nowhere in the Scriptures, except in the nominal form מרבק; if there was a verb here, and for this speaks Sept. *βοοσσησονται*, it must be hidden in ומריא, for which Duhm suggests יבריא, Graetz וצמרו, and Ehrlich simply ירעו.—v. 8b וידה “move slowly” for וידו הדה, no doubt with reference to 38. 15, is a poor parallel to ושעשע.—14.10b it is difficult to see what P. gains by changing חליח to חלשח, or in forming in v. 17 such an awkward phrase as לבש הרגים; in v. 19 כנצר

is probably original and preferable to the emendation כנצער, especially if it be true that the prophet intended here an allusion to Nebukadnezzar (Ehrlich).—v. 20a בוכרון ולא, supplied as a parallel to תחר אחם בקבורה, לא תחר אחם, sounds very prosaic and discrepant, likewise ערים for רעים in v. 21.—v. 30 ברִּחָב (for בכורי) is impossible, and should be either ברִּחָבָה (cf. Ps. 119. 45) or במרחב.—16.6b Masoretic גאֹתוֹ וְגֹאֲנוֹ וְעִבְרָתוֹ is much better than the editor's וְגֹאֲתוֹ וְגֹאֲנוֹ with its repetition and sameness (for עברה "arrogance" see Lexica).—19.17a לְהִנָּהּ for להנא goes back to Buhl, but as pointed out by Marti, there is no need for emendation, since הִנָּה is an Aramaic form of הִנֵּה which has its origin in הִנֵּה "to reel" (parallel to נוע in Ps. 107. 27).—21.12a וְגַם for וְגַם is hardly fitting; if the author felt like having a parallel verb, Krochmal's וְגַם would have been both more appropriate and more poetical.—22.7b in imitation of מְקַרֵּקֶר in v. 5 P. reads here שְׁחֻשָּׁה but why not keep the Masoretic text when it makes good sense, esp. when מְקַרֵּקֶר is still problematical?—In his zeal for emendation P. is not deterred from introducing distinctly post-biblical words, as, e. g. צִאצָּאִים for אֲצִיצִים in 22.24a, referring no doubt to the Targumic and Talmudic-Aramaic עֲצִיצָא, a kind of earthen vessel or flower-pot.—23.4 בִּישֵׁי צִידוֹן is quite legitimate; then why add בַּת to צִידוֹן? P. may claim consistency, but the biblical text is not always consistent, just as it is not always logical.—28.4b the ingenious emendation יִאֲרֶה for יִרְאֶה goes back to a verbal suggestion of Barth (הִרְאֶה for הִאֲרֶה) as quoted by Ehrlich *ad loc.*—29.18a P., for the sake of parallel (מֵאִשָּׁל), supplies a new noun מְחֻשָּׁה, from חָשָׂה "be silent," but such a noun would have to be חֲשִׁי (הַשְּׂאִי), comp חָלִי from חָלָה, and in this form it actually occurs in the Talmud (comp. Levy, *Wörterbuch*, II, 122, col. 2).—34.5a רִיקָה is a poor substitute for רִוְתָה, for it only means "empty" and not "unoccupied" as required by חֶרֶב: P. no doubt thought of the biblical phrase הָרִיק חֶרֶב, but here הָרִיק (Hiph.) means nothing but "empty out," מְתַעֲרָה being understood.—v. 9b לְמַלֵּא בְעֶרְהָ is an inept phrase, besides being in disagreement as to gender (מִלָּה is used with a fem. adj. only in post-biblical Hebrew).

It should also be pointed out that Popper, in his zeal for emendation, neglects some well-established grammatical and rhetorical principles which it is the merit of modern research to have discovered. An instance is adaptation of one grammatical form to another through association, as 7.11b שְׁאֵלָה due to the following לְמַעַלָּה (comp. B. M. Lewin, *ויוג המלים בתנ"ך*, Haifa 1921, p. 19), which P. needlessly changes to שְׁאֵלָה; or 33.20b יצען under the influence of the preceding שאנן (comp. Ehrlich *ad loc.*), which P. levels to יצעה; or again 37.27b where presumably שרמה stands for שרפה in consonance with the following קמה (cf. B. Lewin *l. c.*, p. 10), yet P. emends it to שרפה.

A few misprints, not recorded in the List of Corrections, should be indexed here: p. 3, l. 3 מְנַחֶה should read מְנַחֶה; p. 36, l. 19 מִישֵׁר, supplied for masoretic מִשְׁרָה, should probably read מִישֵׁר, as may be assumed from the commentary (מִישֵׁר occurs only in the plural); p. 74, l. 4 יִמֵּר is a misprint for יִמֵּר; p. 76, l. 4 הִפָּה should read הִמָּה.

The book is beautifully printed, on excellent paper and in clear type. The brief prosaic prefaces to each chapter are printed in small and unvocalized type. Each separate prophecy bears a title, but these titles are not always well-chosen and pregnant with meaning, as e. g. *כי יהיה דבר* for sect. 1 ch. 1, or *הוי* for sect. 1 ch. 5.

JOSEPH REIDER.

Dropsie College.

Japanese Sword-Mounts. In the Collection of the Field Museum.
By HELEN C. GUNSAULUS. Chicago, 1923.

All lovers of the symbolism in which Japanese art is so rich, as well of its history and beauty in material form, will welcome this exhaustive treatise on the sword-mounts. These served a two-fold purpose. They decorated and they made trustworthy the ideal and idealized weapon of the Samurai, or knights of Japan.

To the reviewer, who lived under the feudal system of Japan, when there existed the living traditions, the honors paid, the etiquette required, and the awe surrounding this token of knightly heritage and station, the memories are very keen. Equally vivid

are the remembrances of its abolition and the final and ceremonious farewell given to feudalism, on a national scale, all over the empire. On October 1, 1871, in the great castle hall of Fukui in Echizen, he saw the solemn burial of that feudalism, nearly a thousand years old, of which the sword was the guardian and exponent. It was an impressive scene, when local loyalty to a baron was transferred to the emperor. Similar ceremonies were repeated in over two hundred castles in Japan.

The rigid requirements of the higher society in Old Japan were in the main, clean, noble poverty, pride in the simple life, self-repression, and abstinence from all vulgar ostentation, such as a trader of wealth might show. Exceptions there were, but the supreme motive lay in the necessity and the desire to live the samurai life, according to its high code of honor. The intent was to work out one's career, in antithesis to what we usually associate with the "new rich," the purse-proud, the dandy, and, in general, the folks of unrefined tastes.

Hence the almost utter absence of jewels and what we term rich personal adornment with the precious metals, from the two-sworded gentry and even their wives and children. Color, subdued or flamboyant, voluminous textiles, embroidery, affluence of garments finely decorated with symbols, floral emblems and even landscapes, with a fairly rich heraldry were in showy evidence. Sleeves, waists and skirts, reinforced in varied attractive forms, were fashionable for the women and children, but for the men, the pride, even to oddly expressed haughtiness, was not habitually in gold or outward adornments—except on the silk clothing, marking the wearer's rank, the family crest on breast, sleeves, and back, and, chief of all, the sword. Excellence of steel and temper, the prestige of hereditary gift, or use, were elements of the pride of possession. Yet all art, history, charm, provocation to conversation, desire of seeing, handling and examining and proof by the possessor of confidence in the friendly guest, centered in the tsuba, or decorated guard.

Quite probably—for the same set of ideas, amounting to a cult, as to the absence of personal adornment with metal decorations, more especially as regards contact with the cuticle, prevailed also in Korea—this age-old custom had its roots as is shown also in many European fairy tales, in some prehistoric conquest of people in the stone age by invaders having iron weapons, as was historic-

ally the case, both in the archipelago and the peninsula. Hence this theme offers an alluring by-path into the regions of ethnology.

In any issue of research, those most interested in the subject will welcome Miss Gunsaulus' labor of love, enthusiasm and prolonged study. The results come to us in the form of a volume of nearly two hundred well printed pages; which, besides introduction, text, table of signatures, and index, is enriched with sixty-one plates. It gives the history of the sword forms, from the single edged *ken* found in the prehistoric tombs of Yamato, made of iron, not cast but forged; to the early medieval two-edged weapons, and then, down to the superbly tempered and slightly curved swords of modern date. These have an iron backing for toughness and a steel edge for hardness and fineness.

The author, however, leaving the treatment of the blades to other experts, deals throughout her book, with the *tsuba*, the metal plate, or disk, which fits between the hilt and blade. In earliest days, this was oval, and the handle of the weapon was a pommel, or "turnip mallet" so referred to in the earliest writings. In later as in earlier times, though round, oval, square, or of various shapes the *tsuba* was flat. In time, parallel with the development of metallurgy and plastic art, the *tsuba* became the chief vehicle of artistic expression in metal.

To the critical student, the amount of thought and taste condensed upon so small an area awakens high aesthetic emotion which is chiefly in the line of admiration. In time also, schools arose that developed not only the craftsman's skill and taste, but artists vied with each other in the still finer art of creative thought, condensation of ideas, and beauty of execution.

It is not within the province of this brief review to do more than glance at this very creditable treatment of the various schools or lines of craftsmanship, while there is little in the book to criticize. In passing, one may take exception to the statement that under the feudal system of old Japan (p. 9) "there were approximately two millions of Samurai." This is true only, if we include in the census all "descendants," that is, the families or households of the knights.

My friend, Count Katsu Awa, a critical student of the figures in the case, reckoned about 450,000 gentlemen of adult age, who, in 1871 (when feudalism was swept away) were entitled to wear

two swords and therefore to receive pensions. It is however probable that there were as many as "five million blades" in the empire: that is, counting the dirks or short swords and those for defence only such as an ordinary subject could, under rules, carry singly.

During my first year in Japan, all my students came to school, each, when on the street, retaining the two swords in his girdle, but entering the lecture room with his sword or dirk only. It meant much when the day of abolition having come, several of the lads or gentlemen presented me with their own cherished tokens, as proof of a new Japan.

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

New York City.

Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions. Vol. I: Archives from Erech. Time of Nebuchadrezzar and Nabonidus. By RAYMOND PHILIP DOUGHERTY, PH. D. New Haven: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS; 1923. 67 pp. + 56 plates.

With this volume Goucher College makes its debut into the field of Assyriology. Through the generosity of one of its patrons the College has come into possession of almost 1000 tablets and has committed their publication into the competent hands of Professor Dougherty. The volume is beautifully made and the copies of the texts are models of their kind. Altogether 420 texts are published, all of them records of one sort or another. They are dated in the reigns of Nebuchadrezzar and Nabonidus and practically every year of each king is represented. The book is given over largely to the autographed texts. There is a brief introduction, transliteration and translation of selected documents, and the usual lists of personal names, places, temples, canals and gates. A great amount of mental and physical labor and no small sum of money have gone into the making of the volume and unfortunately to a large degree it is "love's labor lost." These texts have contributions to make, but most of them still remain wrapped up in the texts. The reviewer agrees with Professor Luckenbill (*AJSL*, 50, 221) that what we need today is not so much the publication of the documents themselves as the results of the investigator's work on the documents. Dougherty has done something of this in his

brochure, *The Shirkûtu of Babylonian Deities*, but there are other things that he discovered from the texts and to get them other scholars will have to do a like amount of work and thus much time and energy are lost. We would welcome more notes like the ones on *širku*, *GIS* = *našû*, and *Tê mâ*; and a complete glossary would be invaluable. May we hope for these in later volumes of the Series?

THEOPHILE J. MEEK.

The University of Toronto.

Studies in Religion, Folk-Lore, and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula. By IVOR H. N. EVANS.
Cambridge, England: UNIVERSITY PRESS; 1923. ix + 299 pp.

The author of this work is a member of the staff of the Federated Malay States Museums, who publishes in book form the results of investigations made between the years 1910-1921, some of which have previously appeared in British Anthropological periodicals and the Journal of the Museum. In the preface Mr. Evans modestly asserts that the data recorded supplement the researches of Skeat and Blagden in the Malay Peninsula and Ling Roth's well-known compilation of North Bornean ethnology. He frankly admits that, except in the case of the information obtained from native Malays or tribes speaking Malay in addition to their native tongue (e. g., the Semang and Sakai), it was necessary for him to make use of an interpreter or converse in the *lingua franca* of the region. This fact, together with the variety of topics investigated, and the short time (less than a month) spent with any one tribe, indicates the discursive character of the book, which is its chief limitation. No attempt is made to exhaust any particular subject in detail for any one region or to give even a fairly comprehensive sketch of all the beliefs, customs and folk-lore of a single tribe.

Within the limits imposed by this sort of treatment the actual information recorded, fragmentary as it usually is, contains data which are interesting and valuable as a contribution to our knowledge of the peoples visited. Mr. Evans is conversant with the work of previous students and his data dovetail nicely with theirs.

About one-third of the book is devoted to folk-lore and although the tales published appear only in an English version they com-

prise the most valuable section of the volume. The Negrito (Semang) stories, while few in number, are particularly welcome as no representative collection of their folk-tales has ever been published. Students of Hindu folk-lore will find it worth while, I think, to cull the author's collection for parallels in incident and *motif*, as they may possibly find new evidence for the easterly migration of folkloristic elements which represent the early permeation of native Indonesian cultures by Hindu civilization at the beginning of our era.

Linguists will be interested in some Negrito songs which are given in text (pp. 161-169, 171-174) as are several Sakai oaths, formulas for stopping thunder storms, and other scattered examples of verbal magic. Interesting also is the periphrastic Malay vocabulary (pp. 288-291), terms which must be substituted under certain circumstances (e. g., camphor-hunting, fishing, etc.) for ordinary words, taboo on these occasions. This "bahasa kapor" speech represents a peculiar turn which linguistic development has taken in this region and as some of the words appear to be obsolete in every-day speech their derivation is difficult to determine.

The volume is unillustrated save for the excellent photograph of a Negrito of Perak which serves as a frontispiece.

A. IRVING HALLOWELL.

University of Pennsylvania.

MINOR NOTICES

Le Vārtika de Kātyāyana. Par VĀSUDEVA GOPĀLA PARANJPE, Professeur du Sanskrit, Fergusson College, Poona, Inde. Heidelberg: WEISS'SCHE UNIVERSITÄTSBUCHHANDLUNG, 1922. vii + 86 pp.

The sub-title is "Une étude du style, du vocabulaire, et des postulats philosophiques" (of Kāt.). The author undertakes to show that Kāt. is dependent on the Jaiminiya (Mīmāṃsā) Sūtras, and that the Nyāya Sūtra and probably the Brahma Sūtra were also antecedent to him. Accepting Bhandarkar's date, 142-144 B. C., for Patanjali, he estimates that of Kāt. at 300-350 B. C. By this time, he appears to believe, all or most of the classical schools of

philosophy existed in codified and sharply defined forms. Not all Sanskritists will be ready to accept such a conclusion. The author does not always distinguish sufficiently between the appearance of ideas in fluid forms, and their codification into rigid systems.

Daiwân Walî 'd-dîn Yakan. Cairo: PRESS OF AL-MUKTATAF, 1924. 127 + v pp.

A collection of the poems of the modern Arabic poet and literateur, Walî 'd-dîn, who died in 1921. The preface gives an interesting insight into the life and character of the poet, who is assigned a most prominent place in modern Arabic letters. A native of Constantinople, of high family and position, at one time banished by Abdu l-Hamid to Siwas, he spent most of his life in Egypt. He was a champion of liberty in politics and in letters, and in the latter worked for emancipation from conventionalism of form and idea. Such a volume reminds us occidentals and even our Arabic seminars, which are too much devoted to the antique, that the Arabic still continues as a vigorous and potent literary factor, with the faculty of readjustment to the new forces of the world's onward movement.

The Prophetship and the Caliphate being a Translation of Al-nu-buwwatwa-al-Khilafat by His Holiness Shams-ul-Ulama Maulana SYED NAJMUL HASAN SAHEB, Mujtahid, Lucknow, translated by L. A. HAIDARI. Published by the DARUL TASANEEF MUWAYYED-UL-ULUM ASSOCIATION: Lucknow, 1924. 43 pp. Price 12 Annas.

Islam in the Light of Shiaism being a Translation of the Shariatul Islam (Part I) by the late Moulana SYED MOHAMMED SAHIB, translated with supplementary notes by A. F. BADSHAH HUSAIN, B. A. Lucknow (at the same press as the above): 1924. 77 + xiv pp. Price Re. 1.

The author of the first of these booklets, which is translated from Urdu, is spoken of in a preface as one of the greatest of living Shiite Mujtahids; the second, the original of which is presumably Arabic, is the posthumous translation of a work by His Holiness's

son, a most promising Mujtahid whose life was cut off at the age of thirty-one (1918). The two books represent the active propaganda of the modern Shiites of India, and are of use and interest to Western students in presenting in a most intelligible and reasonable way the tenets of Shiism. The first of the books consists of the argument against the Sunnites in regard to the Caliphate, pressing rigorously the claims of an Alide faction which finds none to represent the Prophet since the disappearance of the Twelfth Imam. The other is a brief doctrinal statement of the tenets of the sect, with notes bearing upon Western philosophy of the day, and at the end a comparative table of Shiite and Sunni differences. The two little volumes give a valuable insight into the cultured mind of a party of Islam which has its own strong opinions upon the theology and politics of Islam. In regard to the theology it may be noticed that along with the ultra-mystical tenet of the Hidden Twelfth Imam Shiism contradicts Sunnism with its Pelagianism in the idea of God, who is represented as doing right because it is right and as owing love to his creatures.

The Encyclopædia of Islam . . . edited by M. TH. HOUTSMA, T. W. ARNOLD, R. BASSET, and H. BAUER. Number 27 (Java-Kaiḡobād). London: LUZAC AND Co., 1924.

This new part of the invaluable *Encyclopædia* continues with its interesting variety of articles, all contributed by experts. The one of most general interest is that on the Ka'ba, by Wensinck, pp. 584-591. The historical and geographical articles are full, e. g. 'Kabyliya' (the mountain country of Algeria), 'al-Ḳādisiye.' Macdonald, Juynboll, Margoliouth and others contribute the theological and legal articles, e. g. 'Ḳadā', 'Ḳadar', 'Ḳādiriya.' Five pages are devoted to 'Ḳahwa,' i. e. coffee with its history and the theological rulings on its permissiveness. An editorial note announces the death of one of the editors, M. René Basset, on January 4, 1924, to whose pen or initiative have been due all the articles on North Africa. The editors also announce that they hope to begin publishing the articles from S on contemporaneously with the progress of the alphabetical order now in hand.

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The Executive Committee by unanimous vote has elected the following to corporate membership in the Society:

Prof. Herbert Pierrepont Houghton	Miss Bapsy Dastur C. Pavry
Rev. Carl H. Kraeling	Prof. James Bissett Pratt

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

A LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA was organized at a meeting held in New York City on December 28, 1924. Its object is to promote the scientific study of language in the United States, and to provide a medium of publication for scientific work in this field. The new society will have about two hundred charter members. Its first officers, elected at the organisation meeting, are: President, Hermann Collitz, of Johns Hopkins University; Vice-President, Carl D. Buck, of the University of Chicago; Secretary and Treasurer, Roland G. Kent, of the University of Pennsylvania. All these officers and many others who took an active part in forming the new society are members of the American Oriental Society. The editors of this JOURNAL feel that the Linguistic Society will fill a real need. Heretofore there have existed only societies interested in certain groups of languages, such as our own society. Linguistic students who were members of such societies missed the stimulus of contact with their colleagues working in other linguistic fields. Such stimulus will now be available thru the new organisation, which, it is hoped and believed, all our members will welcome with enthusiasm. We venture to express the further hope that all members of our Society who are interested in language-study will join the new Society and help it to carry on its work. Those who feel unable to make scholarly contributions to its publications can nevertheless help financially by joining and paying the dues, which are Five Dollars per year. Application should be made to the Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Roland G. Kent, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

PERSONALIA

Professor RICHARD GOTTHEIL of Columbia University has been appointed a delegate from the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies to the next meeting of the Union Académique Internationale, at Brussels, May 10-13, 1925.

Professor LOUIS H. GRAY of the University of Nebraska has accepted an invitation to deliver the first course of lectures on the Ratanbai Katrak Foundation for the Theological, Historical and Philological Knowledge of Zoroastrianism, at Wadham College, Oxford, England, in October, 1925.

THE GYPSY LANGUAGE OF DENMARK

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AMERICAN LEGATION, COPENHAGEN

PROFESSOR VIGGO BRÖNDAL and MR. JOHAN MISKOW have recently published a joint article, containing the latest exposition of the Danish Rommany dialect.¹

Even in the days of Eilert Sundt,² the Scandinavian Rommany was perhaps the most meagre specimen of this linguistic stem, except that spoken by the English Gypsies. At the present time, in Denmark at least, the local Rommany has all but perished. Repeated inquiries made by me as to the existence of the language in Jutland, which was for generations the stronghold of the Danish Roms (known colloquially as *Tatere*; lit. 'Tatars'), have been without result. All my informants say that the language is now quite dead. On the other hand, Bröndal (pp. 103-4) states that there are still some older Gypsies who retain a knowledge of their speech, but he admits that the present Danish Rommanies talk among themselves Hamburg *Plattdeutsch* mixed with (vulgar) High German. According to Miskow (p. 104), (these people) "for the most part are of mixed descent—either the husband is not a member of the race, or else the wife is not Gypsy. They travel separately in families and hence for weeks and perhaps months do not see any of their own people and consequently forget their mother tongue, which is thus never renewed by communication from without." He might have added that this is largely due to the present strict Danish law prohibiting the immigration of Gypsy bands. In spite of the law, however, a few tent Gypsies do get over the German frontier and have within the last few years been seen even in northern Jutland, according to my informants, not far from Aalborg. The average uninformed Dane makes a distinction between these real Gypsies (*Sigøjner*) and the old Rommany families whom they still call *Tatere*. In fact I have been assured that the old "Tatars" are not Gypsies at all, an erroneous idea, no doubt arising from the fact that most of this tribe are

¹ *Sigøjnersproget i Danmark, Danske Studier*, 1923, pp. 97-145.

² *Beretning om Fante- eller Landstrygerfolket i Norge*, 1852, pp. 364-394.

now settled in houses or mixed with the fast disappearing *Keltringe*, or Juttish vagabonds. Very few Gypsies have been on the Danish islands of late years owing to the difficulty of getting unobserved across the ferries.

Professor Bröndal devotes the chief part of his article (pp. 103-134) to an etymological analysis of a list of Danish Gypsy words made by Johan Miskow, covering the period of the last twenty years. Mr. Miskow is well known as an able collector of Rommany texts through his numerous articles in the English *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. He has also published two brief treatises in *Danske Studier*, 1904, pp. 129 ff., and 1909, pp. 104 ff., on the Danish *Reisende* or 'travellers' who are still largely of Gypsy blood or tradition.

A brief discussion of some of Prof. Bröndal's derivations may prove of interest, as his treatise is very full and seeks to cover the entire existing material of some 400 words. For the sake of brevity, I have merely chosen some of what struck me as the most salient points.³

arrak! 'away!' Exclamation. B. connects it with Germ. prep. *an* + R. *rik* 'side' = 'aside,' citing as parallel *krih* (see below). *Arrak* is more probably an association with Germ. *zurück*, pron. dialectically *-ruck* with possibly the R. *rāk* 'side' in the back-ground.

bal 'hair' (see *bleske*). According to B., *bal* in Europe, but *val* in Asia and Beluchistan; = H. *bāl*. I connect the root of this

³ The following abbreviations have been used: B. = Prof. Viggo Bröndal; C. = Continental Gypsy languages; Cz. = Czech; D. = Danish; E. = English Rommany; Eng. = English; f. = feminine; Finn. R. = Finnish Rommany; Germ. = German; Germ. R. = German Rommany; Gk. = Greek; H. = Urdu (Hindustāni); JAOS. = Journal of the American Oriental Society; JGLS. = Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society; Kurd. = Kurdish; Leland: Charles Godfrey Leland, *The English Gypsies and their Language*, 1872; *The Gypsies*, 1882; *Gypsy Sorcery and Fortune Telling*, 1891; m. = masculine; Norw. = Norwegian; OI. = Old Indian; ON. = Old Norse; Pott = Dr. A. F. Pott, *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*, 1845; Prince = JAOS. 28, 271-308: "The English Rommany Jargon of the American Roads"; R. = Rommany; Rum. = Rumanian; Russ. = Russian; Russ. R. = Russian Rommany; Skr. = Sanskrit; Sinclair = A. T. Sinclair, *An American Rommany Vocabulary*, 1915; Sl. = Slavonic; Sw. = Swedish; Turk. = Turkish; Welsh R. = the Welsh Rommany dialect, as expounded by John Sampson in numerous articles in the JGLS.

word also with *baloči*, a people noted for their long hair (cf. Gilbertson, *Balochi Language*, 1923, p. 9, quoting Vincent on Balochi hair-dressing).

basj 'to play,' used by D. Roms of playing cards, but note E. *kell* in this sense = H. *khelnā* and E. *bosh* 'violin'; *boshomengro* 'fiddler.' B. connects correctly with *bošno* cock-bird = 'the singer.' The stem is *bas-* play music, general in Europe; cf. H. *bāzī karnā*.

beng 'devil'; a common R. word. B. connects with Eng. *puck*, ON. *pūki* 'demon' from Skr. *vyāṅga* 'misshapen.' He should have added E. *bongo* 'crooked'; used also of the left (unlucky) hand = *bongo vast*.

besj 'sit,' E. *besk* in *besk alē* 'sit down.' B. cites H. *bas-nā* 'dwell'; probably also, H. *baith-nā* 'sit' (Prince, *JAOS.* 28, 286).

bleske 'red-haired.' B. queries "slang?," but connects with *baleske* 'hairy,' from *bal* 'hair'; but, as *lolo* 'red' is omitted, this seems unsatisfactory. *Bleske* may be a loanword from Sl. (Russ.) *blesk* 'shine, glare' and have been applied slangily to red hair; cf. the slang cry "fire," applied to red haired persons.

brasjt 'unclean' (ritually); probably a derivative of a form with privative *bi* + a form like *ružo* 'clean,' which occurs in E. (Sinclair), itself a variant of C. *čučo* 'clean' ($r = \check{r} = \check{c}$). The E. form I have heard is *yuzho* with *y*.

bul 'arse.' B. associates correctly with Skr. *buli*, but cf. also H. *bil* 'hole' (Prince); E. *bull*.

diklo 'handkerchief, rag'; B. "origin unclear," but why not follow Pott (305) and regard as loanword from Germ. *Tüchel* (Prince, 280)?

draveg 'to read' is an interesting word, probably from *drab* 'say charms, deceive, doctor' (B.). The *-eg* seems to be the same element as in Russ. R.: *drab-akir* 'tell fortunes.' The word = E. *drab* = the poison with which Gypsies kill pigs whose carcasses they subsequently beg, and then = 'medicine' in general; E. *drabengro* = 'physician.'

durken 'deception, swindling.' B. derives from *dūr* 'far' = 'far sight, second sight' (?). More likely from *duk* 'spirit,' from Sl. *duch* (Prince, 280); cf. E. *dukkeripen* (*ben*) 'fortune telling'; also *dukker* a *rakli* 'tell a girl's fortune.'

gadschenis 'German' (adv.) = the language; clearly a deriva-

tive of *gadscho* 'a non-Gypsy person, a peasant.' Interesting chiefly here because used by the Dan. Roms to denote a German, as distinct from a Danish non-Gypsy = *gajo*, *q. v.* below.

gait 'shirt'; in the form *gad*, a general R. word. I guessed H. *gudar* 'rag' (Prince, 281), which B. rightly, I think, rejects, but his guess Ossete *xaedon* is not much better. Paspati (*Les Tchinganés*, 1870, p. 237) connects with H. *gāt* 'body, apparel'; *gātee* 'a plaid,' etc. (Skr. *gātra* 'the body, a limb, member'). This seems much more reasonable. According to Sangaji (*Urdu-English Dictionary*, 1899, p. 655), H. *gāti* = a piece of cloth worn round the shoulders as a tartan plaid.

gajo 'man; Danish peasant' (*j=y*) as distinct from *gadscho* 'German' (see above). This word has been transferred to vagabond slang in both Denmark and Norway. Could the American slang *guy* 'man' have been suggested by Scandinavian immigrants of low origin, or is it an application of Dutch: *de guig aansteken* 'make fun of, make faces at,' where *guig* may be connected with *giechelen* 'giggle.' Possibly the lay figures of Guy Fawkes may be the real origin of the word transferred from England to America. B. connects R. *gajo* with Old Indian *gaja* 'home'; cf. my comparison with H. *gañw* 'town' (Prince, 281). See below, *s. v. hacho*.

grumni 'cow' = E. *guruvi*, almost the original form = *guruv* (Pott, 141). This *grumni* and the Scand. cant word *grummik* (Norw. *Skøjersproget*) cited by B. is probably not entirely a derivative from R., but contains also the Germ. element *krumm* 'crooked,' referring to the cow's horns; cf. Scotch *crummie* 'a cow with crooked horns,' also a well-known name for 'cow' in general.

hacho 'peasant, yokel' (*ch* guttural). B. connects with MHD. *hache* 'peasant, churl'(?). Note Vulcanius, 1547, cited B. 137: *xauco* 'child,' compared by B. with *sjavo* 'child.' With B., I do not regard *hacho* as R., but cant, possibly *Keltring*-language (Dorph; cited B. 136): *hagni*. This strongly suggests a connection with Scotch *hawkie* 'a lout of a lad.' Possibly Bornholm *horra* boy (the common word) is from the same stem, of which MHD. *hache* and Scotch *hawkie* are diminutives.

katli 'scissors'; B. should add E. *katsis* and cf. also H. *gainchī*. *kómmora* 'room'; note Welsh R. *komóra*, which is closer to Gk. *kamára* 'vault' than to Latin *cámara*, as B. suggests. The paroxytone accent was probably influenced by Germ. *Kammer*.

khas 'tree, wood'; used by the vagabonds for 'forest.' The D. Roms seem to have lost the word *ruk* 'tree, forest' = H. *rūk*, but cf. B. 143, in the list of words no longer in use, *ruk* 'firewood, kindlings.' With *khas*, cf. E. *kosht* 'wood, stick.'

krigh 'away, go away!' Exclamation. B.: 'ke + rik to one side!' But probably, like *arrak* (q. v. above), influenced by Germ. *zurück*.

lil 'letter, document, book.' Oddly enough, used by the Finnish Roms in the form *lin* for 'passport, paper,' etc. (B.). B., quoting Miklosich, cites the early Indian stem *lij*, *lih* 'write' and Old Indian *lekhas* 'letter.' He should have added H. *likh-nā* 'write.' The usual R. word for write is *čin*, lit. 'cut'; cf. Welsh R. *čina-mangeri* 'letter.'

love 'money'; a word of uncertain derivation, but general in use; cf. E. *lovvo*, *lunvo*. B. inclines to derive it from "Turkish" (not Osmanli) *lofa* 'wages, price,' itself from Ar. *'alūfa* 'wages,' occurring in Persian, Georgian, etc., in this sense. Paspatis, however (*op. cit.*, p. 342), connects it with the abbreviated Byzantine Greek form *βολοί* for *ὀβολοί*. As this was pronounced *volí*, he thinks that the R. word was an inversion; *loví*. This, although not impossible, is not entirely satisfactory. The H. word is *rupai*; 'money,' plainly from *rup* 'silver' and has no connection here.

lörpen 'dwelling.' B.: "of unknown derivation," but note Balochi *logh* 'home' (Gilbertson, *op. cit.*, p. 8), probably a derivative of the same stem.

maj 'more,' as in *maj love* 'more money.' Clearly a Rumanian loanword = Rum. *mai* the usual word = 'more,' and not Italian with B.

mas 'meat.' A common Gypsy word and also common Sl., as well as H. *mas* 'meat.' It is difficult not to think that Slavonic at least helped to keep this word in Rommany (in spite of B.).

möl 'wine.' A common R. word and one of general Indo-European use. B. might have quoted Pers. *mul* and Kurdish *mai* 'wine.'

mutjet, as in *vri mutjet* 'chuck it out'; can have no connection with Finn. R. *moskava* or *moske dava* 'I push' (B.), but is simply the general R. *muk* 'to leave' + *Plattdeutsch* or Danish *-et* 'it'; viz., *mutjet* = *muk les* 'drop it'!

nevo 'new'; a general R. word, of course going back to original

Skr. and Pali *nava* (B.), but note that *novy* 'new' is also general Sl. which probably helped the Roms to keep the *-v-*; cf. H. *nāi*; Kurd. *nō, nēw* 'new.' B. rejects this theory of mine (Prince, 289).

pansj 'five.' B. cites H. *pāč*. This should be *pañj*. The *n*, nasal or otherwise, is seen in most Indo-Iranian dialects; Kurd. *penj*; Pers. *pañj*; Balochi *phanch, panj*, etc.

pasj 'half.' B. cites Skr. *pārśva* 'part,' but should add also H. *pās-pās* 'pieces.'

pelskan 'playing cards.' B. "uncertain derivation." This is not Rommany at all, but probably nothing more than a *Rothwelsch* inversion of Germ. *Spielkarten*! Cf. the form *pelski* '*Spielkarten*' (Bischoff, *Deutsch-Zign. Wb.*, 1817, p. 60.) It is interesting to note that the American Roms say *wurdars* for 'cards,' through false association with *wardo* 'cart' (wagon); Sinclair.

pos 'bed,' from *phus* 'straw' (E. *pus*). Cf. the Amer. slang expression to *hit the hay* 'go to bed.' B. connects *pos* with Pali *bhūsā* 'chaff.' He should add H. *bhūsi* 'chaff.'

prral 'brother,' with glottal catch; general R. in many allied forms, of which the most familiar to us is E. *pal* which has passed into slang. It is, of course, a descendant of Old Ind. *bhrātā* 'brother,' but B does not mention that its nearest European equivalent is Lith. *brolis* with *l*. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, xi (Gypsy), sentences, no. 231, gives local Gypsy forms *bhai* (also = H.); *bhau* and *bhauta*. With these should be compared E. *baw* 'lad, old boy,' etc., whence probably American Slang *bo*.

pug ni 'do not deceive (me, us)' must come, as B. thinks, from *phukava* 'I admit; cheat'(?). *Puker*, however, in E. simply means 'tell, relate' and probably = H. *phūk-na* 'blow.' The expression *pug* + Low Germ. *ni* (= *nich, nit*) originally meant probably: 'stop talking,' or 'stop blowing!'

rakker 'speak'; a general R. word and one adopted also by various cant idioms (cf. B. 126). As the word is *vraker* with *v-* in Southern Europe, this, as B. points out, seems to make its derivation from Old Indian *vāk* unlikely (cf. H. *bhākā* 'speech, dialect'). The Sl. word *vravet* 'speak' suggests itself as a possible cognate (Prince, 292), but the word is doubtful.

rassa 'meeting, court session.' B.: "the word is unclear." Probably not R. at all, but a cant corruption of D. *retssag* 'trial, session.'

rivepen 'garment, coat, skirt.' B. "derivation unknown." This is probably a root *riv-* 'clothe' borrowed from Rumanian *robă* 'clothes.'

rom; *romni* 'man, woman; husband, wife.' B. agrees with most authorities that these words, which are the gentilic terms for the Gypsies in almost every country, go back to the Indian caste-name *dom*, with cerebral *d*, occurring also as *lom* and *nom*.

Sindi is the D. Roms' name for themselves; also *sinti*; Germ. R. *sinto*, pl. *sinte*. B. is inclined to derive it from earlier Germ. *Gesindo*, *Gesindi*, with which cf. mod. Germ. *Gesindel* 'canaille.' One is tempted, however, to think of *Sindhi* as a possible background, although, as B. points out, the limited territory in which the R. word *sindi* is used would militate against this. The usual word is *rom* (see above).

sjegte 'seven'; B. "unique." B. considers it a combination from *sjov* 'six' and *ockte* 'eight.' The Norw. Gypsy *schuh* is certainly not from Finn. *seitsemän* 'seven' (Sundt), but a variant of Norw. (dialect)—Swed. *sju* 'seven.' I believe *sjegte* is a combination form of Dan. *syv* 'seven' (frequently pronounced dialectically *sjyv*) and the ending *-te* (*-ta*) of the usual R. word for 'seven' (*hefta*, directly borrowed from the Gk.). The *g* for *v* in *sjegte* is probably the same interchange (*v-g*) seen for example, in D. *avner*; Norw. *agner* 'chaff'; cf. also D. *ovn* 'stove'—Sw. 'ugn,' etc. It is possible that *ockte* 'eight' may have contributed to the mongrel *sjegte*, as B. thinks.

sjukkel 'dog,' a real R. word. B.'s treatment is interesting and correct, i. e. from Skr. *jukuta*, *jakuta* 'dog' with intervocalic *-t-* to *-l-*, as in *pral* = OI. *bhrata*. B. should have mentioned Turk. and Kurd. *čakal* 'jackal.'

sjupni 'whip.' B. correctly remarks that Eng. *jockey* can have no connection with this word. He should have added that *jockey* is a diminutive of *Jock*, first applied to a swindler and later applied to a professional rider. The E. *čukni* (*chuknee*) 'whip' with *k* is much more probably influenced by *jockey* than conversely. The form *čupni* is the one in use by all C. Roms.

stanje 'stable'; B. "from Serb. *stanje*." He should add H. *stānya* 'place.'

sterne 'cat' = Germ. R. *štirna* 'tom-cat.' B. "origin unknown." I suggest that the origin of the word is Serb. *starína* 'old man,'

used as a term of endearment. The usual R. word for *cat* is *mačka*, a loanword from Sl., appearing also in Magyar *macska* = Skr. *mārjāra* 'one who cleans herself' (Prince, 287).

tirjeskiro 'shoemaker,' B. derives from *tirach* 'shoe,' which he tentatively connects with Turk. *čaryq* 'shoe' without reference to Prince (279), where I compared E. *chokka* 'shoe' (also *chā*; Sinclair) with Turk. *čaryq*.

tjorro 'poor.' B. compares Sindhi *chhoro* 'orphan.' He should have added Kurd. *zhar* 'poor.' The C. word is *čoro*; E. *choro*; Welsh R. *čuro*.

vesj 'forest, wood'; general in Europe. B. cites Awromānī *wēšā* as cognate, but does not give his source which is A. M. Benedictsen, *Les Dialectes d'Awromānī et de Pāwā*, Copenhagen, 1921, p. 127. This = Pers. *bēša*, *biša* (Prince, 298, and *JAOS.* 7. 173).

vesjte 'nine.' B. "unexplainable." It cannot be connected with Lappish *āftse* 'nine,' as the Norw. gypsies use *nī* or *nīn* (Scand. *nī*), while its resemblance to *vičid* 'nine' in several Caucasian languages is accidental (thus B.). It occurs to me that *vesjte* may be an erroneous notation or pronunciation for *devesjte* 'nine' = Sl. (for ex., Russ.) *devjat'*. The common European R. word for 'nine' is *ennea*, a loanword from Greek.

In commenting on the word *zigeuner* (D. *sigøjner*; Sw. *signare*; Cz. *ciġán*, corresponding to the Magyar *cigány* and Rum. *cigan*), B. compares it with the Turkish (not Osmanli) *čygañ* 'poor,' indicated by Prof. Vilhelm Thomsen as occurring in the Old Turkish inscriptions and suggested by Thomsen in his lectures as the possible origin of *sigøjner-zigeuner*. This *čygañ*, I regard as a Turkic cognate of the Magyar *szegény* 'poor.' The Roms may have had it through the Greek popular form *ἀροίγγαρος*, with which cf. Osmanli *čingeni* 'Gypsy,' and the word has thus passed into the Rumanian and Slavonic. It may be noted that the Albanian word for Gypsy is m. *jevg*, f. *jëvg* (northern dialect: *magjýp*), an evident corruption of mod. Gk. *jiftos* = *ejiftos* 'Egyptian,' and a parallel to our *Gypsy*.

The most striking characteristic of the R. verb is the *l*-element in the 3 p. pres. of verbs, as *kamel(a)* 'loves,' which probably represents the 3 p. *-t-* in Skr. *-ati*. This *l* has led B to regard Kafiristan and its neighbourhood as the *Urheimat* of the Rommany

tongue, as, in the so-called "Veronian" group of dialects there spoken, and "nowhere else in India proper," is this change of *t* to *l* between vowels found (p. 142). B. also adds that the geographical probabilities are all in favour of the westward emigration of the original Rommany bands from the Kafiristan region, rather than from India through the passes. Alfred C. Woolner (*JGLS*. III, Series II, part 1, pp. 15-16) points out that such *l*-forms are found in Rajasthānī, Nepālī, etc. and in numerous hill dialects, as well as in Kashmīrī. Woolner states very aptly that, although the closest resemblance to Rommany seems to be found in the dialects classified as Dardic, but which have had connection with and "shade off" into the real Indian idioms, these northwestern features do not necessarily compel one to look to the remote regions of Kafiristan as the original home of the Gypsy language. Grierson has shown (cited Woolner, *loc. cit.*) that this type of language was once spoken over a much wider area than at present, which, if true, makes any supposed point of departure for an unrecorded emigration from the north practically impossible to fix. It should be added that the so-called Gypsy dialects of India are not representative of a parent stem for Rommany (Grierson, *Ling. Survey*, XI. Gypsy Languages; cf. this valuable material almost at random).

The question, therefore, as to the exact modern dialect group of India which might be the parent stem of Rommany, must still be regarded as unanswered. It is permissible only to suppose that the word *rom* is identical with *dom* (see above, *s. v. rom*) and that the Gypsy idioms emanated at an unknown date from the northern Indian linguistic stems, without further specification.

THE LIFE OF MOHAMMAD PAOLO ZAMAN, THE PERSIAN PAINTER OF THE XVIIth CENTURY

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DR. FREDERICK MARTIN in his work *The miniature painting and painters in Persia, India, and Turkey* (London, 1912), anent the biography of Mohammad Zaman, wrote that this painter was sent to Rome under Shah Abbas II, and returned to Persia as a Christian with the name of Paolo, but because of his Christianity was obliged to escape from Persia to India where he obtained the protection of the Mogul Dynasty. In Aurangzib's reign the famous traveller Manucci made the acquaintance of our painter at the court of this Shah (vol. I, p. 124). Unfortunately Dr. Martin has not indicated whence he gained this information. Nevertheless it is not difficult to find his source, thanks to the mentioning of the name of Manucci. On pages 16-18 of vol. II of *Storia do Mogor or Mogul India, 1653-1708, by Niccolao Manucci, Venetian, translated with introduction and notes by WILLIAM IRVINE* (London, 1907), we find the same but more detailed information.

Occasionally we have chanced to find an unknown Persian manuscript with the miniatures of Mohammad Zaman, some inscriptions on which give us very important information about his life. These new pieces of information combined with the details scattered in the technical literature show that the biography of our painter was very complicated.

Cl. Huart in his book *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient Musulman* (Paris, 1908, p. 255) called our painter "Mohammed Zeman Kirmani" and added that he received his education in Tabriz. The name Kirmani means that he was a native of Kirman, a town or province of Persia.

From the above-mentioned work of Manucci-Irvine we can collect many pieces of useful information. Stanley Lane-Poole in his *Rulers of India: Aurangzib*, 1893 (p. 5), states that the memoirs of Manucci are full of errors, but only in the edition of Catrou (*Histoire générale de l'Empire du Mogol . . . sur les mémoires de M. Manuchi . . .* par le Père François Catrou

(Paris, 1705), and he says that these memoirs would be invaluable if they were compared with Manucci's manuscripts. Now this comparison has been made and we have the scientific edition of Mr. Irvine. From this edition of Manucci (II, 16-18) we know that Mohammad Zaman was one of the mansabdars or Persian refugees in India; he was a man of great intelligence and Shah Abbas of Persia sent him to Rome to study painting; he turned Christian, and, taking the name of Paul, called himself Paolo Zaman; he went back to Persia but because of his Christianity was obliged to flee to India; he received the protection of Shah Jahan and lived for the most part in Kashmir; once he was invited by Aurangzib to Delhi with other mansabdars for verification of their grants, and at Delhi he made the acquaintance of Manucci. The editor and translator, Mr. Irvine, adds in this place a very remarkable note: "Mr. A. G. Ellis suggests that Manucci's Mohammad Zaman is possibly identical with the painter of this name, by whom there are three beautiful signed and dated pictures in a copy of Nizami's Khamsah, British Museum . . . the date however 1675-76 A. D. (1086 A. H.) is somewhat late to suit Manucci's story (circa 1660). But the man *may* have returned to Persia. . . ." We shall see below that "the man" really was our painter and returned to his native country.

During the time of the sojourn of Mohammad Zaman in India, the prince Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of Shah Jahan, was a protector of Christians. He was himself a freethinker, with a leaning to Christianity, encouraged by three Jesuit priests in his suite (St. Lane-Poole, *The History of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan*, 1892, p. xxv). Born a Musulman he was in his private life a Christian with Christians (*Travels in the Mogul Empire 1656-1668* by F. Bernier, transl. and annot. by A. Constable and V. A. Smith, 1914, p. 6). For this reason we may suppose that Mohammad Zaman obtained in the beginning of his life in India the protection of Shah Jahan, and later that of his son Dara Shikoh. On the other hand, the successor of Shah Jahan and the rival and conqueror of Dara Shikoh, Aurangzib, was first and last a stern Puritan; to him Deccan was Dar-al-Harb (country of war); he determined to make it Dar-al-Islam (house of Islam); in matters of religion he was obstinate to the point of fanaticism; in every department of his government the puritanical and

bigoted Musulman revealed himself (Lane-Poole, *Rulers of India: Aurangzib*, pp. 60-75; *History of the Moghul Emperors*, p. xxvii). Clearly the existence of Christians and, among them, of Mohamad Zaman under the government of Aurangzib was unendurable and many people were obliged to escape from India.

In April, 1924, I was invited by the Morgan Library, New York, to describe the Arabic and Persian manuscripts. In this collection I found a manuscript which is very important for our theme. It is M 469, Khamsah of Nizami. The copy is dated as completed in Saturday Safar 11, 1086 A. H. = May 8, 1675 A. D. The name of the calligrapher is Gias-ad-din Mahmud, son of Salim Lati. Sizes $12\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, $12 \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, $9\frac{1}{4} \times 5$ inches (binding, pages, text). Folios 286. The binding is Persian, handsome lacquer; outside—light green field with flowers, triple panel, gilded; inside—red field with flowers, an ordinary panel. The writing is Nastaliq of a medium size, 25 lines to a page in four gold-ruled columns, with outline. The paper is cream-colored, of medium weight. Red titles. Many variants in margin. Arrangement as follows: Makhzan-al-asrar 4b-28a, Haft paikar 29b-80a, Khosrow and Shirin 81b-138a, Laila and Majnun 139b-184b, Iskandar-namah (Sharaf-namah) 185b-248b, Iqbal-namah 249b-283a. Illuminations: six unwans or title-pages richly adorned with flowered designs in gold, blue, red, green, and white colors; moreover several pages are ornamented in gold and other colors with flowers, sometimes with gold background. Dates: 28a—"finished by Gias-ad-din Mahmud, son of Salim Lati"; 80a—"finished in the month Rabi I of the year 1085" = July, 1674 A. D.; 138a—"finished on Saturday, the 10th of Shaban month, year 1085" = November 9, 1674; 184b—"finished in the month Shawal, year 1085" = December 1674; 248b—"finished the 17th of the month of Moharram of the year 1086" = April 14, 1675; 283a—"This copy of Khamsah of Shaikh Nizami is finished on Saturday the 11th of the month Safar, the year 1086 (= May 8, 1675) by Gias-ad-din son of Salim Lati."

Miniatures 36; among them signed and dated following ones: f. 14a—signed "Mohammed Zaman," dated 1086 = 1675. f. 16a—Mohammad Zaman. f. 27a—"made by Mohammad Zaman 1088" = 1677. f. 38a—Zaman 1086. ff. 49a, 90a, 91b, 94a, 102b—Mohammad Zaman 1086. f. 112b—Ibn (son of) Haji

Yusuf, Mohammad Zaman 1087 = 1676. f. 119a—Mohammad Zaman 1086. f. 124b—Haji Mohammad ibn Haji Yusuf 1086. f. 128b—"finished by the most humble Mohammad Zaman in the royal city Isfahan in the year 1088" = 1677. f. 132a—Mohammad Zaman ibn Haji Yusuf 1086. ff. 148a and 246b—Mohammad Zaman 1087.

The most important inscription of our manuscript is certainly that on the miniature f. 128b; unfortunately the background of it is so dark and the letters of the inscription are so small that it was impossible to take a photograph on which our inscription would be clear.

From this inscription and from all the others of our manuscript we learn that the full name of our painter was Haji Mohammad Zaman ibn (son of) Haji Yusuf; that after his sojourn in India he returned to Persia and worked in the town of Isfahan; that after being converted to Christianity he embraced again the religion of Islam, executed the holy Moslem pilgrimage and received as reward the title of "haji"—Musulman pilgrim. Now it is clear that the miniatures of the above mentioned manuscript in the British Museum (Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, London, 1883, vol. III, p. 1072, Or. 2265) are the work of our painter.

In conclusion, as the result of all these researches we are able to give the following outline of the biography of Mohammad Zaman.

Mohammad Zaman, son of Haji Yusuf, was born in Kirman, in a stern Moslem family (title of his father—"haji") and received his education in Tabriz. In the time of his youth, about in the middle of the XVIIth century, and in consequence of his great intelligence, he was sent by Shah Abbas II (1642-1667) to Rome, where he studied the art of painting; but not being himself a bigoted Moslem he embraced Christianity and received the name of Paolo. After his return to Persia, because of his new religion, he was obliged to quit his native country and to escape to India, where he obtained at first the protection of Shah Jahan, and later that of Dara Shikoh. About 1660 he made the acquaintance of Manucci. By reason of the fanaticism of Aurangzib he returned about 1672-73 to Persia; embraced Islam again; reestablished his Moslem reputation; made the Moslem pilgrimage; received the title of "haji," and in the years 1675-78 worked in the city of Isfahan.

MAGIC IN THE SANSKRIT DRAMA

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AS MAGIC PLAYS so important a part in much of the Sanskrit literature, it is not surprising that the dramatists used it frequently to liven up the action of their plays or to develope the plot.

In considering the subject of magic at any time one is likely to find himself, upon occasions, in rather a dilemma to know just where to draw the line between magic and religious ceremonies, and I must confess I have not yet fully drawn it to my own satisfaction. But we do find in the Sanskrit drama numerous instances of unmistakable magic, to which it is the purpose of this paper to draw attention.

There are, for example, several instances of the use of materials or objects which are endowed with magic power. In the third act of the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*¹ of Sūdraka, we find the thief, before he makes the hole in the wall to admit him to the house of Cārudatta, anointing himself with magic ointment (*yogaroohana*) which has the power to render him invisible and invulnerable, at the same time chanting a mantram that insures his security from the watchman's eye and the sword. When he has gained admittance to the house and has found no visible treasure he scatters magic seed upon the floor to ascertain whether there is buried gold. As the seeds do not swell he knows there is no gold present.

In Bhāsa's *Avimāraka* we have a magic ring, given to the hero by a Vidyādhara, which makes him invisible to all but his beloved and enables him to gain access to her.² Two other instances of invisibility through the use of an object are to be found in the sixth act of Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā* and the second act of his *Vikramorvaśī*.³ Here the celestial nymphs put on magic veils (*tiras-kariṇī*) when they are upon earth and do not wish to be seen.

¹ *Mṛcch.*, ed. A. F. Stenzler, pp. 47-49, Bonn, 1847: tr. A. W. Ryder, *The Little Clay Cart*, pp. 48-49, Cambridge, Mass., 1905 (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 9).

² *Avimāraka*, ed. T. Gaṇapati Sāstri, Act 4, pp. 64-65, Trivandrum, 1912. (Trivandrum Skt. Series No. 20.)

³ *Śakuntalā*, ed. R. Pischel, p. 119, Kiel, 1877. *Vikram.*, ed. G. Vaidya, pp. 24, 28, 30, 52, 53; Bombay, 1894.

In the *Madhyama Vyāyoga* ⁴ of Bhāsa Ghaṭotkaca binds Bhīmasena with a magic fetter (*māyāpāśa*) which had been given him by his ogress mother, but before he can effect the charm he must have water to sip. As he has none at hand he calls upon the mountain to supply it and the water flows to him. Bhīmasena, however, knows a counter-charm to break the magic fetter. He, too, needs water, but this does not have to be produced magically, as it is given to him by a Brahman boy near by. Another instance of the use of water before reciting a charm is to be found in Harsha's *Priyadarśikā*, ⁵ where the king calls for water before beginning his incantation to counteract the effect of the poison taken by the heroine. It is not stated that he drinks the water but it may be assumed that he does so, as he does not use it in any other way.

Again, in Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśī*, it is the jewel produced from the red lac from the feet of Pārvatī which enables Purūravas to restore Urvaśī to her natural form when she has been turned into a vine, for it has the magic power of reuniting lovers. ⁶

Turning to a second type, that of sympathetic magic, we find but one example. In *Mālavikāgnimitra* ⁷ the queen has imprisoned the heroine, Mālavikā, in order to keep her out of the king's sight. She has entrusted a maid with the key to the prison, telling her that she must unlock the door only when she is shown the queen's ring. The vidūṣaka knows, of course, that the ring has the image of a snake on it, and he also knows what magic ceremonies are likely to be performed in the case of a snake bite. So he pretends to be bitten, and when the physician is called upon he sends word that he wishes something with the image of a snake on it, so that the *uda-kumbha-vidhāna* (water-jar ceremony) might be performed. Of course the queen, greatly grieved at the imminent death of the vidūṣaka, hastily gives him her ring. This is just what he expected would happen, and he straightway uses the ring to effect the release of Mālavikā.

⁴ Ed. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, pp. 20-21 (Trivandrum Śkt. Series 22); tr. Rev. E. P. Janvier, pp. 31-32, Mysore, 1921. (Thesis, University of Pennsylvania.)

⁵ Priya., ed. Nariman-Jackson-Ogden, p. 88. New York, 1923.

⁶ Vikram., ed. G. Bh. Vaidya, pp. 75-76; tr. pp. 57-58. Bombay, 1894.

⁷ Mālav., ed. Shankar Pandurang Pandit, 2d ed., Act 4, p. 104. Bombay, 1889; tr. C. H. Tawney, 2d ed., p. 62. Calcutta, 1891.

A third form of magic is that which is produced by meditation alone. We have two instances in which the dramatists have used this form. At the beginning of Rājaśekhara's Karpūramañjarī⁸ the master magician (*yogeśvara*) introduces the heroine into the play. He brings her by his dhyāna-vimāna, or contemplation car, from a distant city—conjured right from her bath, with the water dripping from her tresses. This is not merely an image, but the flesh-and-blood girl who remains at the court and marries the king.

The second instance of this form of magic by meditation is found in Bhavabhūti's Uttararāmacarita.⁹ Lava, one of Rāma's twin sons, paralyzes a large body of soldiers by calling down upon them, through contemplation, the *jrmhaka* weapons. These magic weapons evidently had the power of exorcising the spirits supposed to control the material weapons. This power, exercised by Lava and also possessed by his brother Kuśa, is one of the signs by which Rāma recognized his sons, because the ability to discharge and withdraw these weapons had been possessed by no one but two great sages and Rāma. Rāma had told Sītā, before the boys were born, that this power should pass to them.

A fine example of magic illusion, a fourth type of magic to be found in the Sanskrit drama, is in Harsha's Ratnāvalī.¹⁰ Here the magician (*aindrajaḷika*) carries a bundle of peacock feathers which he moves in various directions. Without the slightest difficulty he shows in the sky, for the entertainment of the king and queen, all the gods and their wives, and the celestial maidens. This marvel is interrupted by the arrival of the Prime Minister of the King of Ceylon. The magician is asked to rest, and as he goes out, moving his bundle of peacock feathers, he remarks that the king must see another play of his. This "other play," which occurs in a very short time, serves largely to bring about the dénouement. It is excitedly announced that a fire has broken out in the women's apartments,¹¹ and the queen, in a panic, confesses that the heroine, Sāgarikā, is shackled in an inner room. The king rushes to her

⁸ Karp., ed. S. Konow, pp. 24-25; tr. C. R. Lanman, pp. 235-236. Cambridge, Mass, 1901. (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 4.)

⁹ Uttar., Pandit Bhatji Shastri Ghate with tr. by Vinayak Sadashiv Patvardhan, Act 5, text pp. 140-1-2; tr. 42-43. Nagpur, 1895.

¹⁰ Ratn., ed. and tr. Sris Chandra Chakravarti, Act 4, text and tr. pp. 104 to 114. Bengal, 1902.

¹¹ Id., text and tr. pp. 125 to 137.

rescue. Then follows the queen, the jester, the Ceylon minister, and the chamberlain. They all plunge into the fire. Suddenly the flames disappear and it is realised that there has been no fire at all. This apparent conflagration is just the other piece of magic promised by the magician as he left the presence of the king. But this trick has served to bring the heroine before the Ceylon minister, who believed that she had been drowned. Of course he recognises her, and announces that she is the cousin of the queen. As the queen has no objections to her cousin as a rival wife the girl's marriage to the king is brought about.

The curse, also, may be considered as a type of magic as it is usually magical in its effect. We find the curse and its fulfilment in at least three of the plays at the very foundation of the plot. These are Śakuntalā, Kshemīśvara's Caṇḍa-Kauśika, and Bhāsa's Avimāraka. In the Vikramorvaśī, too, is a curse, but in this play it is not pronounced by a human character but by Indra.

The custom of having a beautiful maiden touch an aśoka tree with her foot, in order to cause it to blossom magically out of season, is used by the dramatists as an artistic touch, and also as a device for bringing the heroine out where she may be seen by the king. In the Karpūramañjarī the girl not only touches the aśoka but embraces the amaranth and gazes upon the tilaka tree, in order to bring about the desired blossoming. All three trees burst into bloom on the instant.¹²

In Bhavabhūti's Mālatīmādhava¹³ one character is spoken of as possessing magic power, and through it she rescues Mālatī from a terrible priest of Cāmūṇḍā, but it is not told what special rites were performed.

In Bhāsa's Dūtavākya Duryodhana says to Vāsudeva that he will bind him even if he uses *devamāyā* and *svamāyā* on all sides. We also find in this play Vāsudeva magically disappearing and reappearing many times directly before the eyes of Duryodhana, and assuming various forms.¹⁴

Aside from these instances of the actual performance of magic

¹² Karp., op. cit. text pp. 63-4-5: tr. 259-60.

¹³ Mālat., ed. Mangesh Rāmkrishṇa Telang, p. 250, Bombay, 1892: tr. H. H. Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*, p. 111, vol. 2, 3d ed. London, 1871.

¹⁴ Ed. T. Gaṇapati Sāstrī, p. 42, Trivandrum, 1912 (Trivandrum Skt. Series No. 22).

there are, in a number of the plays, incidental references made to different sorts of magic by the various characters.¹⁵

In my further study of magic in Sanskrit literature I hope to make clear the point whether there is a consistent use of certain words for the different types of magic.

¹⁵ Karp., op. cit. Text p. 42. Ratn., op. cit. Text pp. 115-16; 120. Mahāvīracarita of Bhavabhūti, ed. T. R. R. Aiyar, pp. 8, 30. Bombay, 1892. Mudrārākshasa of Viśākhadatta, beginning of Act 2.

NAMES OF GOD IN THE TAMIL LANGUAGE WHICH DENOTE HIS ONENESS

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THE TAMIL LANGUAGE faithfully represents the ideas and theories of the people. For instance the word *lokappirataṭcinam*, of Sanskrit origin, means "auspiciously passing around the world from left to right," an action possible only on a flat world. A common form of worship is to pass around a shrine a certain number of times keeping it always on the right. I have seen a Brahman thus showing his devotion to Queen Victoria by passing around her statue near the Senate House in Madras. But when they magnify this form of devotion by prescribing it for the whole world, surely they lose sight of its globularity.

In the words for God many special theories are suggested, but the conceptions are so great they transcend theories.

The following names are selected as referring to God as One. Names of the gods of the 33 large groups in their pantheon are equally interesting and more numerous, but they are another study.

Most of the terms given are from the Sanskrit, directly or indirectly, and with or without change of meaning; some very suggestive ones are pure Tamil.

I. *Simple Names.*

Parappiramam, Supreme Deity (pantheistic).

Ēkan,

Kēvalapporuḷ (Sanskrit and Tamil), } the One.

Tarpatam, the Absolute.

Poruḷan (Tamil),

Carporuḷ (Sanskrit and Tamil), } the existing Reality.

Tantōnri (Tamil), } the Self-existent.

Puvan,

Palaiyōn (the Ancient One),

Pirappili (the One without birth), } (Tamil), the Eternal.

Irillan (the One without end),

Puruṭan,

Uyirkkuyir (Tamil; soul of the soul), } the Soul.

Pēruyir (Tamil; great soul),

Mutalōn (Tamil), the First One.

Kāraṇan,	}	the Cause.
Karupporuḷ (Tamil),		
Tāparan,		
Tēvati,		
Nitanan,	}	the Great One.
Pūraṇan, the Perfect One.		
Pirān,		
Periyōn,		
Pemmān,	}	Light.
Oḷi (Tamil),		
Nantāvilakku (Tamil),		
Cuṭarār (Tamil),		
Parañcōti,	}	Pure Intelligence.
Cirkuṇan,		
Parāparan, the Most High.		
Katavuḷ (Tamil), the One who surpasses all.		

The last name is one of the finest terms in the list to unite Christians and Hindus in a common adoration for God, as surpassing all.

II. *Names expressing the negation of Attributes.*

Ninmalan,	}	the Spotless One.
Nirāṇṇan,		
Nirvikāri, the Changeless One.	}	the Unattached One.
Parrilān, (Tamil),		
Nirunāman, the Nameless One.	}	the Incomprehensible One.
Eṭṭāpporuḷ (Tamil), (out of reach)		
Avanāci,	}	the Indestructible One.
Nācarakitan,		
Nirālampan, the One independent of Sport.	}	the One unlimited by Time.
Kālātitan,		
Apayan, the One without Fear.	}	the One free from Disease.
Niramayan,		
Ēkarūpan, the One invariable in Form.	}	

III. *Names expressing Attributes.*

Tanimutal (Tamil), He who is Alone and First.	}	He who is Omnipresent.
Tattuvātitan, He who transcends all Powers and Faculties.		
Puṇṇiyamutalvan (Sanskrit and Tamil), He who transcends all in Merit.	}	He who is Omniscient.
Camayātitan, He who transcends all Religions.		
Carvāntaryāmi,	}	
Cakalaviyāpi,		
Carvaññan,	}	
Enṇilkaṇṇuṭaiyōn (Tamil), (having countless eyes)		
Kaṇṇāyiram (Tamil), (1,000 eyes),	}	

Nānanāyakan,	}	He who is the Author of Wisdom.
Nānattumā,		
Puṇṇiyan,		He who is Holy.
Amaivan (Tamil),	}	He who is Calm and Serene.
Niccalan,		
Nittiyamuktan,	}	He who is Ever-Blessed.
Catānantan,		

IV. *Names expressing God's Relation to the World.*

1. Through His Incarnation :

Kirupāmūrṭti,	}	In the Form of Mercy.
Karuṇāmūrṭti,		
Nānamūrṭti,		In the Form of Wisdom.
Gurumūrṭti,	}	In the Form of a Gurn.
Nānaparan,		
Puṇṇiyacorūpi,		In the Form of Virtue.

2. Through His Presence :

Paṭaittān (Tamil),	}	He is the Creator.
Ulakakarṭtar,		
Ulakapālan,		He is the Protector.
Niyantā,		He Controls and Guides.
Ulakanātan,	}	He is Lord of the World.
Tampirān (Tamil),		
Talaivan (Tamil),		
Ēkanātan,		He is the one and only Ruler.
Catāpati,		He is the Eternal Lord.
Ūlimutalvan, (Tamil),	}	He survives All Things.
Neṭuntēvan (Tamil),		
Ēkacātanan,		He is the one and only Means of attaining Bliss.
Ulakacātcī,	}	He is the Universal Witness, sees Everything.
Karumacātcī,		
Carvacātcī,		
Uḷḷuyir (Tamil),		He is the Inner Life.
Uḷḷatturaivōn (Tamil),		He dwells in the Heart.
Tōnrāttunai (Tamil),		He is the Unseen Helper.
Pēraruḷālan (Tamil),	}	He is the Gracious One.
Tayāparan,		
Karuṇākaram,		He is the Abode of Grace.
Kirupācamuttiram,		He is the Ocean of Grace.
Carvacivatayāparan,	}	He is Benevolent to All Creatures.
Carvakāruṇṇiyan,		
Cuyaṇcōti,	}	He is Light in Himself and enlightens Others.
Cuyampirakāsam,		
Nēyam,	}	He is the Object of Knowledge.
Tēyam,		

Paktaparātīnan, He belongs to His Worshipers.
Nampan (Tamil), He is Ours, belongs to Us.

These many terms referring to God as one Supreme Being are all the more interesting from the fact that Tamil has references to a great multitude of divinities, in common parlance 330 millions. Does it not point to an underlying belief in Monotheism?

Our list starts with Parappiramam, Supreme Deity, and ends with Nampan, Our God.

Note. The transliteration of Tamil letters is that of the new Tamil Lexicon, except that the dash under letters is omitted for typographical reasons.

A REJOINDER TO PROFESSOR GEORGE A. BARTON

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FOR YEARS I have been endeavoring to show that certain theories and claims popularized and advanced by Professor Barton concerning Semitic origins should be abandoned. One of these, formulated years ago in Germany, is that the Arabian desert emitted its surplus population of hungry tribesmen in successive eruptions or waves upon the adjoining territory, and that it was upon this periodic disgorging or spilling over of "savages from the desert" into neighboring lands that Babylonia and Amurru, including Israel, were dependent for their Semites. Among his own views are his claim that the Arabs worshipped a mother goddess, whose existence is not known to other scholars; that this imaginary Arabian mother goddess became the masculine Arabian deity Athtar, the Babylonian Ishtar [i. e. Ashtar], who in turn was transformed into the gods Ea, Sin, Shamash, Marduk, etc. Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, also had his origin in this imaginary goddess. Tammuz, whom we know as a king of Erech, was her son. Eden was in southern Babylonia, but Paradise, he holds, originally was located in an Arabian oasis.

Professor Barton maintains, like others, that the Hebrews, who were semi-barbarous Arabs from the desert, and whose history prior to Joshua is a fiction, borrowed Babylonian nature-myths for their religious literature. His views as to the origin of the names in Genesis are however, distinct from others. Aripī, the eleventh king of Kish, became Adam. The Hebrews by the help of philological gymnastics, transformed Bar-sal-nun-na, the name of the sixteenth king of Kish, into Seth; En-me-nun-na became Enosh; the Sumerian words *siba lu* "the shepherd who," becoming *hiba lu*, were the origin of Hebel or Abel; *an-shu* "to heaven" was misread *an-ku*, and this became Hanok or Enoch; the woman's name Zirtu lost its Z and became Irad; Melam-Kish, the name of the fifteenth king, lost its beginning and end, Me[lam-K]ish, and became Lamech (*Archaeology and the Bible*, 1925), etc.

As is well known, my own studies have led me to believe that these conclusions rest upon unproved assumptions and mistaken

interpretations. In different places I have given abundant proof to demonstrate this. It was therefore naturally to be expected that he would take issue with my views. In an article for the *Prospectus* of the new *American Encyclopaedia of Christianity*, he attempted to relegate my work to the realm of suppositions and misunderstandings. To a new edition of his *Archaeology and the Bible* he added an Appendix, aggressively designed to have the same effect. The paper read before the Society has since appeared in this JOURNAL, see above, pp. 1-38. While I am pleased to note that it has been considerably modified in its tone, I regret exceedingly to find many misstatements in it. Let me call attention here only to those found on the first page.

1) Again and again I have said that I did not wish to discuss the ultimate origin of the Semites (see *Amurru* p. 85, *Empire* p. 30, *Hebrew Deluge* p. 6, *Traditions* p. 29, and *Antiquity* p. 6),¹ and yet in the opening sentence of his article, he quotes me as holding that Amurru was "the centre from which all Semitic civilization radiated."

2) In the second sentence, he misrepresents me as saying the Amorites "were the earliest fountain of all that was wise and civilized in the Mediterranean area."

3) He writes: "This paper was completed in August 1924. On September 22d of the same year, I received Professor Clay's privately printed pamphlet, *The Antiquity of the Amorites*. After reading this pamphlet I find no reason to withdraw or modify anything I have here written." That conveys the impression that he had finished his paper before he had seen what I, and also Professor Torrey in a long note, had written, whereas he modified his paper from beginning to end in the light of the manuscript of the pamphlet, a copy of which he had in his possession since May. In May he finished his attack upon my views, and sent his paper to the editors for publication. After that had been done, I sent my defense to the editors, and at his request, a copy to him. When he saw it, he desired to modify his attack in the light of it, to which I objected. He then withdrew his manuscript. He nevertheless

¹ The full titles of these books to be quoted as above are: *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites*; *Empire of the Amorites*; *A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform*; *The Origin of Biblical Traditions*, and *The Antiquity of Amorite Civilization*.

rewrote his article, making use of my material against my protest, without a semblance of credit. In doing so, he of course has omitted many points which he had ascertained were incorrect, some of which he had even published in the daily papers. Enough has been said on this note; but this much at least is necessary, otherwise his answers to my discussion and to the note of Professor Torrey would be unintelligible.

4) He also writes on the same page: "Professor Clay's claim that Professor Sayce accepts his view is shown to be mistaken by Sayce's article 'Who Were the Amorites?' in the September, 1924, number of *Ancient Egypt*." This is another misstatement. The only mention of Professor Sayce in my pamphlet *Antiquity* is on page 26, reading as follows: "Professor Sayce, with reference to my Euhemerism, in regarding these kings and queens as historical personages who were deified, says: 'I am one with Professor Clay in believing in the antiquity of the Old Testament records and in his Euhemeristic idea of early Babylonian history, and consequently fully admit the important part played by the Semitic element in the evolution of Western Asiatic culture.'"

5) He charges me also with misquoting Professor Chiera, whereas my quotations were taken verbatim from Chiera's manuscript, which he had placed in my hands. On this, see below.

All these misstatements are on the first page. His article of thirty-eight pages is full of them. I regret that it will be necessary to allow most of them to stand uncorrected on the pages of the JOURNAL, for neither the space of the JOURNAL nor my time would be properly spent in answering them. The same is true as regards answering all his unproved assertions and general statements, some of which are repeated several times. To discuss everything of this character would mean to write another book, and incorporate a very considerable portion of what I have published in others. What follows, however, I think will be adequate for every unbiased critic. But another word before I discuss his paper.

My first publication on the questions involved appeared nearly two decades ago. Since then Professor Barton has repeatedly published criticisms of my views, and has taken the lead in opposing them. His present effort has the advantage of not including the many guns which have been shot off previously, which my return fire has put out of action; but it includes all his other batteries,

large and small, in which he at present has confidence. Some of these he rebored, while others are introduced here for the first time. It seems to me that unbiased students of the Old Testament and history in general ought now to be able to satisfy themselves not only as to whether his views or mine are correct, but whether he has produced *anything whatsoever* to show the incorrectness of my conclusions, (1) that the antiquity of Amorite civilization is great; and (2) that the theory that Israel borrowed its religious traditions from Babylonia, is wholly baseless and should be abandoned.

At this juncture let me express myself as having great regrets at feeling constrained to answer these attacks upon my views in the manner that follows. The peculiar circumstances already stated, and the fact that it is an attempt to annihilate or discredit my efforts of more than two decades, to say nothing of the responsibility that I feel I owe,—if not to myself, to those who have published my works, and those who have followed my views,—make it imperative that I either recant or demonstrate that these attacks are baseless; for I am as honest in my belief in the correctness of my views, as he is honest in his belief that they should be relegated to the realm of nonsense.

His points one to six bear mainly on the antiquity of Amorite civilization. This question is quite distinct from the other discussed in his seventh point which bears on the origin of the tradition. I will follow his points *seriatim*.

1. In the first edition of the *Prospectus* of the *American Encyclopaedia of Christianity*, which appeared last year, 1924, Professor Barton presented his unproved assumption concerning the Amorites. This I criticized in my *Antiquity* (p. 9). In a second edition which was printed shortly afterwards the words that I have italicized below were replaced by those in brackets []. It reads: "The Amorites were a Semitic people whose original habitat appears to have been *North* [Eastern] Arabia and *the region* [later lived] between the Mediterranean Sea and the Euphrates. So far as we can now see, they were differentiated from the other Semites in *North* [East] Arabia and gradually pushed up into the territory of Syria and the region between Aleppo and the Euphrates. *From this region they made their way into* [Their kinsmen, the Akkadians, had entered] Mesopotamia, invading Babylonia in sufficiently large numbers to capture cities and found the dynasty of Kish and

Agade as early as about 2800 B. C. The king who accomplished this was the famous Sargon."

These two editions of his views, the one printed a few months before he saw my *Antiquity*, and the other a few months after, show that within a few months he completely reversed his position. In the first edition, he made the original habitat of the Amorites to be North Arabia and Syria, whence they passed into Mesopotamia, and under Sargon established the dynasty of Kish and Akkad. If he had not included North Arabia, and had not made it the original habitat, his theory might have passed for my own, with the exception that I have always held in abeyance the question as to whether Sargon was an Amorite. But over night, as it were, Sargon the Amorite from North Arabia becomes an Akkadian from East Arabia, and the stream of migration is made to flow in the opposite direction (see also JOURNAL p. 37). This transformation can be seen taking place in the same book. In his *Archaeology* p. 122, Sargon is still an Amorite, but in the Appendix p. 539 he wrote, after he had seen my *Antiquity* p. 9 f., forgetting what he had written on page 122: "Professor Clay has rightly refrained from claiming" the dynasty of Sargon as "Amorite."

I have offered hundreds of facts and reasons for holding the view that Semitic Amorites, that is peoples from Syria and Mesopotamia, moved down into the Babylonian alluvium after it was sufficiently formed to receive them, and after they had acquired sufficient engineering knowledge to harness the two rivers. (See this JOURNAL 1921, 241 f.) Since I have offered hundreds of facts and reasons to show that the periodic disgorging of Arabs to account for the Amorites and Akkadians in Amurru and Babylonia is baseless, and that with the exception of the Nabataeans moving upon Petra in the first pre-Christian century, and of Islam invading Western Asia and Southern Europe in the Christian era, there is no evidence of this process, which has been restated in hundreds of publications by many scholars, I have asked that Professor Barton offer his evidence of these eruptions, and of the assumption that the Akkadians as well as the Amorites and Hebrews (the semi-barbarous Arabs) began to pour out of the desert in successive waves about 2800 B. C. He now meets the challenge, and produces evidence of two such waves of migration or eruptions of Arabia's surplus population, prior to a reference to the Arabians in an inscription of Ashurbanipal (668-626 B. C.).

As is well known, there is a vague theory that Caleb, after Israel's sojourn in the wilderness, split off from the main body of Israel, and entered Palestine from the south. This Professor Barton gives as evidence of one of the waves of "savages from Arabia." His evidence of the second wave of migration, when the desert disgorged itself again, is Joshua bringing Israel across the Jordan into Palestine. Here, then, we are told, is positive evidence that two waves of the semi-barbarous Arabs spilled over into adjacent lands (p. 6). It must be evident to every unbiased student, if this is all the evidence that research has been able to produce to substantiate this extensively published wave theory, that, as far as the historical period is concerned, it rests upon a very questionable basis. (See *Empire*, 27 ff.)

The Babylonian or Akkadian language, as every one knows, is very far removed from the original Semitic. The fact that we have knowledge of a West Semitic people living in Cappadocia in the time of Sargon (2800 B. C.), whence have come from several sites hundreds of tablets written in the Cappadocian Semitic dialect, which are full of Amorite names, and the added fact of Akkadian inscriptions which appear for the first time in this same period, besides many reasons, have led me to believe that these dialects, written in the syllabary we call Akkadian, had a very long development in Amurru before this first appearance of Akkadian in Babylonia. The art of the Semites in the Agade period, about 2800 B. C., shows that it also had a long development prior to the earliest known, it being of a much higher order than what had preceded, or followed. In view of these facts it has been to me almost inconceivable how any one knowing Arabia and the Arabs, and realizing that the Arabs have preserved their language in pristine purity, can make himself believe that the so-called Akkadian language and civilization came out of north or east Arabia in that era, or in one not far removed from it.²

² I believe that there were at least two early contemporary West Semitic or Amorite languages, what was later called the Hebrew having *h* in certain forms, as well as other peculiarities, and that language which was later found in the Amarna tablets written in the West, using *š* or *s* etc. The Aramaic and Syriac known in later periods should also be mentioned as other languages of Amurru. Besides these we know the Akkadian and Cappadocian languages or dialects of the third millennium B. C., which show closer affinities to the Amarna language referred to than to the

Let me here call attention to a misrepresentation which appears on page 17 in spite of the fact that I had previously informed Professor Barton that it is incorrect. He says, "In his last book Professor Clay admits that the [Hebrew] deluge story was not Hebrew." I regret to note that this is repeated in his *Archaeology* p. 536.

Anthropologists are now being heard from on this question. Professor Elliot Smith, for example, writes: "Now if the generally accepted view is true that Arabia was the original home of the Semites, the Arab must have undergone a profound change in his physical characters after he left his home land and before he reached Babylonia" (*Ancient Egyptians*, p. 151). To this let me add what I wrote in a paper recently read before the Philosophical Society of Great Britain: "There are not a few scholars, including Jewish, who have accepted the idea that the Bedouin is racially the brother of the Jew. But how any one, knowing the physical characteristics of the Arab, even as a layman, and without the decision of the anthropologist, can believe that the long-headed, oval faced Bedouin is racially the brother of the Jew, with his round head, short stature, and Armenoid features, is more than I can understand." But the tide has turned. In my *Antiquity* page 11, besides quoting

Hebrew. It is impossible for any one to prove whether those using *h* or those using *š* or *s* are the earlier. It has been my belief from the beginning of these investigations that the Akkadian is simply a Babylonized dialect of the Amorite language which later is represented in the Amarna tablets. As regards when and where the syllabary, which had its origin in the Sumerian, was developed, I do not know. I do believe, however, that it had a long development before the time of Sargon.

I owe it to myself to correct here also an impression that Professor Luckenbill of Chicago has tried to create, namely that Professor Ungnad should be credited with having originated the so-called Amurru hypothesis. In *AJSL* 1923, p. 4, he quotes Ungnad as having proposed that before the days of Akkad, Semites may have been organized into a state elsewhere in Amurru. He says "This was in 1908 (*OLZ* 1908, 62 f.). Since that time Professor Clay, in a series of works beginning with *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites*, has advanced and championed the hypothesis", etc. I began these investigations in 1903 when I discovered Amurru written מִרְיָא. Luckenbill having been a student at Pennsylvania between 1903 and 1906 should be able to recall that I repeatedly lectured on this subject. But proof of what I say will be found in this *JOURNAL* for 1907, pp. 139 ff., which is one year before Ungnad made the first brief statement, for which Luckenbill credits him with the above.

a few scholars, I said, "The present view of many others could readily be quoted"—yes, the number is rapidly increasing.

Professor Barton, in holding that the Amorite language is Akkadian, advances a view that is unique, and that puts not only me, but all scholars on the defensive. While many scholars believe that the Akkadian traditions were borrowed by the Hebrews, I know of no one who holds with him that Amorites were East Semites and not West Semites (p. 25). If proof is offered to show that a word is Hebrew or Amorite, he simply asserts, that is proof that it is East Semitic or Akkadian. He tells us, "If Amurru was on the Euphrates, all arguments against a Babylonian origin are also against an Amorite origin" (p. 28). Again, "Amorite names in the West are evidence of Babylonian or East Semitic influence in the West, and not vice versa" (p. 25). With reference to deities, he says, "If they are Amorite—and in the case of Dagan, Adad, and Nisaba the names are Amorite or Akkadian, they were carried from the East to the West" (p. 25). If he desires to prove, for example, that Adad and Dagan are Akkadian or Babylonian, or in short, that Amorites are Akkadian, then he ought to launch his attack not upon my views but upon those of all Assyriologists. These unproved assertions are found on nearly every page of his article.

It should be said, however, that he does take issue with his fellow-opponent of some of my views, Professor Luckenbill of Chicago, who agrees quite correctly that certain names of the First Dynasty are Amorite; that the Nîsin kings are Amorite; yes, who even holds that the kings of the third Ur dynasty are West Semitic; and that Amorites were found in Babylonia in the time of the Agade dynasty. Professor Barton tells Luckenbill he is mistaken; for example, that *yarbi* may be a Sabaeen form, etc. (p. 18 n.). If Barton regards all Amorite names like *Yarbi-îlu* as Sabaeen, he should again change his theory and bring the Amorites out of South Arabia, for the South Arabian inscriptions, even though they belong to a period a thousand years later, would at least give him actual material to quote.

The above I believe will make it apparent why it is futile to attempt to answer all his utterances. If, to put this in other words, French names in the West (i. e. France) are evidence of Italian or East Romance influence in the West, it certainly becomes a very

peculiar and complicated problem. Then also, if to meet one argument, he can quote ^aAG as a personal name (p. 10), and then to meet another argument elsewhere, say that the same ^aAG is the deity Nabû (p. 26); or say Canneh is in Mesopotamia, and then in the same work to contest my views, say it is an error for Calneh in Babylonia (see below), this certainly presents an extraordinary situation. Moreover, if he can quote me as saying that Mari (which I have always said was on the middle Euphrates) was the modern Hit (p. 9 note), which he places in Babylonia, and make Babylonia include the kingdom of Suhi and Hani and reach to the Lebanons, his claim involves the views of all other Assyriologists, living and dead, and I do not feel called upon to discuss these, in spite of the fact that his attack is set forth in the JOURNAL as against my own views. But now let us consider some of the technical details he offers.

2. In my reconstruction of the early history of the Amorites, I have used hundreds of facts which I have endeavored to fit into their proper place. One of these is that ^{mat}Mar^{ki} was used interchangeably with ^{mat}Mar-tu (or Marru^{ki}), meaning Amurru.

In his paper before the Society, he presented three of my "demonstrably unreal equivalences," two of which were given wide publicity in the press of the land. The manuscript of my *Antiquity* pp. 12 and 13 seems to have disposed of two of them. The third is set forth in what follows.

Professor Barton says (9 ff.) that a scribe in the time of Ashurbanipal, to whose inscription I had referred, owing to laziness, wrote ^{mat}Mar^{ki} instead of ^{mat}Mar-tu^{ki}; he apparently thinking that this is a *hapax legomenon*. If he will consult the astrological reports (Thompson, *Reports*, 25: 5; 88: 5, etc.); the Assyrian letters (*ABL*. 137: 10, 14; 17: 3; 41: 7, etc., etc.); and the syllabaries (*CT*. 25, 16: 16; 35: 24, etc.), he will find abundant examples not only of this so-called laziness of the scribe, but of his "demonstrably unreal equivalence." What I have said in *Antiquity* p. 14 on this, in my judgment, is sufficient, and needs no modification.

Among the hundreds of facts presented I have also said that this Mar^{ki} and the Mar^{ki} found in the name of the deity Nin-Mar^{ki} and in the name of a place near Lagash, E.^dNin-Mar^{ki} are the same; and I have identified this city Mar with Mari on the Euphrates, the capital of the Amorite empire, which held suzerainty

over Babylonia during the reign of six kings, several centuries before Sargon, after which period the goddess ^dNin-Mar^{ki} "Lady of the city Mar" appears in the Babylonian inscriptions.

In his paper, page 9, Professor Barton says, Mar^{ki} "lay in an entirely different direction." It was near Lagash in southern Babylonia; for which he gave two reasons: (1) because the goddess ^dNin-Mar^{ki} was worshipped there in southern Babylonia, being a member of the pantheon; and (2) because the place E-^dNin-Mar^{ki}, which means "Shrine of the Lady of the city Mar," was near Lagash. My answer to these arguments I think fully covers the point. It reads (*Antiquity* p. 15): "I think the fallacy in Barton's reasoning in placing Mar^{ki} in southern Babylonia on these grounds will be apparent even to a layman. Would he say that the name of the church of "Our Lady of Mount Carmel" in Newark is proof that Mount Carmel was in New Jersey?"

In his paper he now attempts to meet this, and adds (p. 9): "It may of course be said that the shrine of this goddess does not represent the original situation of Mar^{ki}, as foreign settlers might have brought the worship of their deity from a distant land." He continues, "It should be noted, however, that all other deities worshipped in Lagash are native in southern Babylonia, and to suppose that this one is an exception is quite gratuitous."

I had heretofore understood that *all* scholars agreed that the Sumerian and Semitic gods in Babylonia are not native. And will Professor Barton say that the chief goddess, Nin-harsag "Lady of the Mountain," is native to southern Babylonia? But moreover have not all Assyriologists including Professor Barton recognized that Lagash was full of Semites in the early period? Then why, simply for the sake of an argument, say that "all these deities were native to southern Babylonia as the people of Lagash were conscious of no differences" (p. 9)?

He adds: "Such a supposition [that Mar is the Semitic Mari] seems to be negatived by the statement that Nin-Mar^{ki} is the first born child of Nina." But who was Nina? Professor Barton himself (*Origins*, p. 187 ff.), as well as other scholars, have given reasons for believing Nina was Semitic, and a form of Ishtar. That she is said to have been the daughter of Ea, would confirm that idea. And, moreover, what do genealogies of gods amount to? We learn that En-Urta was the son of Ea, and also of Enlil; Nabû was the son of Marduk, and also of Ea, etc.

His "simpler and thoroughly satisfactory explanation [which] lies close to our hand" at the bottom of page 11, is new. This takes the place of his previous "simpler and thoroughly satisfactory explanation" which I have discussed in *Antiquity*, page 16, and which has now disappeared. What I said concerning the other, will apply to the substitute. But let me add what Professor Albright of the Jerusalem School has said in this JOURNAL (1922 p. 317): "Clay has long maintained that Mari is really synonymous with Mar-tu or Amurru, and refers to Syria as well as to the middle Euphrates country, but few have accepted this view. Now, however, it is proved for the 7th century B. C. by the remarkable geographical vocabulary published by Schroeder, No. 183: 11, where Mari is explained by *mât Ḫatti*, the Hittite country, which in late Assyrian texts is the regular expression for Syria, including Palestine."³

3. His third point is intended to show that Mari, the Amorite city on the Euphrates, which ruled Babylonia in the fourth millennium B. C., was not Semitic but Sumerian. The earliest Semite that Mari produced, which he mentions, was Ishbi-Urra, who lived in the middle of the twenty-fourth century B. C. Leaving Anbu and Ishar-Shamash, who are discussed below, out of consideration,

³ Professor Olmstead in a review of my *Empire of the Amorites* says: "Clay has proved beyond a doubt that there was a country named Amurru, which included Syria and north-western Mesopotamia; that they were Amorites who spoke a language akin to Hebrew and probably had a Nordic infusion; that they appear as early in Babylonia as the Sargonide period," etc. (*AJT* 23, 525). But I do not agree with the limits he sets for Amurru. It seems that Sir Henry Rawlinson had identified Amurru with Marathus on the coast opposite Arvad where there is a modern town 'Amrit. As I said above subsequent investigations showed me that Mari on the Euphrates, which even controlled Babylonia long before Sargon, was the capital of Amurru in the earliest historical period known, and I was content to let discovery determine what importance is to be attached to the Syrian centre. Along comes Olmstead, who because of a reference to a Mari by Thothmes III, thinks that Marathus is Mari or Amurru, which gave the land its name, because he says it is more central than Mari on the Euphrates, and that "to the topographer it is mathematically proved that here is the Amurru of Ashur-naṣir-pal." Of course that may be true, but what has that to do with Amurru of 2000 years earlier? And if Mari on the Mediterranean were the capital of Amurru up to 1000 B. C., when Arvad took its place, why do we not find this Mari mentioned by the early Assyrian and Babylonian kings, who were interested in every city of this kind in sight? It is not impossible that this Mari gave its name to Mari on the

he seems to be unacquainted with the fact that Migir-Dagan was king of Mari four centuries earlier (*RA* 16, 157 ff.).

In holding that Mari was Sumerian and not Semitic in the early period, after calling attention to Sumerian antiquities having been found in Ashur, which is what should have been expected since Sumerians ruled Ashur (as they also ruled Mari in some periods, where similar antiquities should also be expected), he gives two reasons for saying that Mari was Sumerian (p. 12): First, "The only complete name of a king of Mari that has survived from the dynasty of the fourth millennium is written ⁴Sir or ⁴Gid, perhaps to be read An-sir or An-gid. If read in one of the former ways it might be an ideogram either for the god Enlil or the god Nannar [note, a god ruling Mari]." To this he had added, "However the name is read, there is no reason to think it Semitic."

In my *Antiquity* page 18, I asked, Why not Semitic? and showed that the name written with the characters An-Bu could be An-bu "fruit," an element found in names. In his article (p. 12) he now adds: "There is one other possibility; it might also be read An-bu, and if so read, it might be Semitic." Instead of crediting my manuscript for the suggestion, he quotes Professor Langdon; but when Langdon's work is examined, it is found that he read the name An-sir, and in a note gave two other possible readings, An-bu and An-sud, with no reference whatever to the name being possibly Semitic. Barton then gives his second reason, "However the name

Euphrates, but I would like to know a little more about it before I follow in this conjecture, and especially because its identification with the Mari of Thothmes III is only a guess.

The city Halab mentioned in many texts as the home of Ashirta, and which figures in the Hammurabi Code, etc., Olmstead says is "beyond possible doubt a suburb of Babylon" because in a contract tablet of the time of Nabopolassar there is mentioned a Halab near that city. But why not also say that the great Ashkelon "beyond possible doubt is a suburb of Nippur," because in a contract of the Persian period there is an Ashkelon near that city in which Jews lived? Why not try to locate the great Halab among the tells near Babylon? He also asserts that "The topographer without any a priori wishes must place Ki-Mash east of the Tigris." Is this opinion based on the belief that Ur kings conquered cities only to the east of Babylonia, or on the guesses of others, or upon a topographical study of the occurrences of the name in the contracts of the third Ur dynasty? Some of us who do not call ourselves topographers are nevertheless almost daily studying topography.

is to be read, there is but one chance in four that it is a Semitic name, and this chance seems to be negated by the fact that the one inscription that we have from a king of Mari is in Sumerian." He does not give the name of this inscription, for the apparent reason that scholars regard it as Semitic. It is of [I]shar-Shamash, king of Mari, who was also a suzerain of Babylonia in a very archaic period. His statue is in the British Museum. The fact that the inscription is written in Sumerian, having probably been found in Babylonia, means nothing, and especially when we recall that at such cities as Nippur and Lagash, although full of Semites, all early inscriptions including the Hammurabi period were written in Sumerian.

This archaic inscription figured in my holding that there was an Amorite empire. Knowing that Amurru was the land on the west of Babylonia, as Elam was on the east, which was referred to in the title "King of the four quarters," used by many early kings, and which was mentioned in many omens referring to the king of Akkad; knowing that this land, Amurru (Mesopotamia and Syria), embraced Suhi, Hani, Tidnum, Canaan, etc., in other words the land between Babylonia and the Mediterranean; knowing that Sargon in some inscriptions tells that he conquered Mari, Yarmut, Ibla, etc., that Hammurabi tells of his conquest of different kingdoms along the Euphrates, and also that he enjoyed the title "king of Amurru"; and knowing that Amurru embraced heterogeneous races—these facts seem to point to the land having been dominated at one time from a single centre which had given the country its name. This of course implied an *empire*. The inscription of [I]shar-Shamash, king of Mari and Patesi-gal of Enlil, seemed to put it beyond any doubt that such an empire existed, because that title implied suzerainty also of Babylonia. A discovery, however, made a few years later put the matter beyond cavil. It showed that the Amorite city Mari had ruled Babylonia during the reigns of six kings, several centuries before Sargon. These are among the chief reasons for having believed in the existence of an Amorite Empire. Let us now see what Professor Barton tells the readers of the JOURNAL my reasons are.

Following his giving the above two reasons for saying the Amorite city Mari was Sumerian, Professor Barton sums up my reasons for an empire in this extraordinary manner; he says, "The theory of

an Amorite empire in the fourth millennium B. C. rests, then, on the assumption that Mar equals Amurru and that therefore Ma-rí also equals Amurru and that the kings of Ma-rí were Semitic. In the light of what has been said it is clear that the possibility that either of these assumptions is true is infinitesimal. Such possibilities do not constitute historical proof. Historical proof does not consist of infinitesimal possibilities, which are opposed to all linguistic and historical analogies" (p. 12 f.).

Let me also show here how Barton's fellow opponent to my views presents my reasons for an empire. Professor Luckenbill writes in a scientific *Journal* thus: "The Amarna Letters and the Hittite treaties furnish all the information we have concerning the kingdom Amurru. . . . To speak of this little kingdom as an 'empire' would show lack of discrimination in the choice of terms. Professor Clay has come to see that in the 5,000 years of history there is no room for any real 'Empire of the Amorites,' so, presto, it is made prehistoric!" (*AJSL* 1923, p. 6).

Let me ask, with such representations of my reasons for an Amorite Empire, is there any wonder that reviewers, as, for example, Professor W. E. Garrison of the Disciples' Divinity House, University of Chicago, writes, without mentioning his scholarly authority, in the *Christian Century* (1924, p. 1634), that "the Amorite empire is a figment of the imagination, based on materials meagre almost to the vanishing point."

4. As regards Professor Barton's fourth point, be it definitely understood that I have never expressed myself as regards the Agade dynasty being Amorite. This, however, has been set forth by Professor Barton himself in the first edition of the *Prospectus* article, page 14, and in his *Archaeology*, p. 122 (1925). His discussion here must therefore be construed as an attempt to try out his own hypotheses; his fourth point, however, contains much that is incorrect, for it is part of his attempt to show the barbarous character of the Amorites.

I have proved that Amurru is written Uru (אִיר) in Aramaic, which throws light on the word for 'west,' 'Uryâ (אִירְיָא), in the Babylonian Talmud. Barton admits this to be correct, saying, that the name Amurru also appears, "in consequence of certain phonetic changes well understood by philologists, as Uru or Uri" (*Archaeology*, p. 539).

I have also proposed that this name Uri was given to Akkad at a period like that referred to above, when Amurru or Uru was geographically extended to include Akkad. Barton concedes that this is possible, but adds: "That likeness may be due entirely to accident." He says "The German *Bad* and the English *bad* are spelled and sound alike, but one means a 'bath,' and the other means 'not good.'" Of course in some future time when modern history is forgotten, it is possible that some one may try to show that the agreement of the name *France* found in many writings as being applied to Alsace-Lorraine, with the name of the adjoining land, *France*, was "due entirely to accident." This is exactly parallel.

Professor Barton gives two reasons for holding that the historical evidence indicates that the Amorites about 2700 B. C. came as savages from Arabia. In the first he tries to show that the Amorites were Akkadian, or, if West Semitic and not East Semitic, that they were "from barbarous, half-civilized tribes, who were compelled for the purpose of literary expression to adopt the language of the more civilized Semites whose territory they invaded" (p. 15). But examine this simply in the light of the fact, that the Phoenician script was used in Sinai 1500 B. C., before the Amarna tablets were written; the fact that at Byblos, Phoenician inscriptions were found belonging to the reign of Ramses II, who began to rule fifty-eight years after Amenophis IV, in whose reign the Amarna letters were written, and that Phoenicia furnished Greece and the world with an alphabetic script. Moreover, the language of those Amarna letters written in Amurru, as every scholar knows, contains a dialect that is not Akkadian.

5. In his paper presented at the meeting of the Society, he gave the second argument to show that the Amorites were "savages from Arabia," (see also *Archaeology*, p. 539), quoting the translation of an unpublished Sumerian text by his colleague Professor Chiera. Having had a copy of Chiera's translation I found that instead of the crucial line being translated as Professor Barton put it, namely "in the land his protector is the god Amurru" Chiera translated "Martu has by his side. . . ." In response to my request he sent me his latest translation, which practically agrees with what he has since published. It reads "(Now) Martu possesses a house(?)", to which he adds a note: "This verse is obscure." It should be added that the word "(Now)" is supplied. He quite correctly

added a question mark after his translation of the obscure word *ma-la* "house?"

In this long poem of 142 lines, Chiera says: "The god Martu [Amurru] is represented as the builder of the first temple, hence the god Martu and the Amorites he represents have been the originators of the Babylonian civilization" (*SRT* p. 22). This was not grist for Barton's mill, and he did not quote it, nor do I want it for mine, because the usual word for "temple" or "house" occurs several times in the text, and the above is wholly a guess, based on his other guess of the meaning of the obscure word *ma-la*, which he translates "house(?)". He continues, "I am therefore of the opinion that we have in this legend an attempt on the part of the Amorites to endow their own god with some of the honors that did not originally belong to him. The last lines of the legend prove on the contrary that the Amorites were still barbarous mountaineers when civilization was well established throughout ancient Babylonia." This gratuitous statement Barton regards as wonderful grist for his mill, in which he "fully concurs" (p. 16). But let us examine what he has made such extensive use of not only here but elsewhere. The poem, which, Chiera says, was written a little before 2000 B. C., opens with the line "The city Ninab existed." A little farther on we find "Ninab (was) a city among the cities of the great land" (which Chiera says is Amurru). Let me ask, does that accord with the idea that the poem refers to the origin of civilization? A feast is held in the house or temple of Ninab; how can this poem then be construed as referring to the building of the first house or temple? There can be no question but that on the basis of his own translation Chiera has completely misunderstood the purpose of the poem.

There are two other crucial lines which figure in this remarkable effort, both of which are only partially preserved. In the first, the word *harsag*, which means "mountain," is translated "mountaineer (i. e. the Amorite)." The other line had been previously restored **Mar-[tu ma-la?-m]u ba-an-tuku-tuku*, and translated, "Martu has taken . . .", but it is now restored **Mar-[tu š]e?-ba an-tuku-tuku*, and is translated, "(Now) Martu possesses grain," without even showing that it is a restoration; and what is more important, without a large question mark (p. 16 f.). With this Professor Barton says he "fully concurs." He further quotes

Chiera who says, "In two unpublished tablets I find the Amorites referred to as not knowing houses and cities (*CBS 13904: mar-tu e nu-zu uru-ki nu-zu*), nor corn (*CBS 14151: mar-tu lu še nu-zu*) as in our tablet. Now such a description of the Amorites would be meaningless had the Sumerians not known such things" (p. 16).

I will reserve discussion of these two passages until I see the text and the context of these lines. But I do wish to say here, knowing that cereals have been found in prehistoric mummies; that Amorites had contact with Egypt and Babylonia millenniums earlier than 2000 B. C.; and that wild wheat actually grows even now in Amurru, that to me it is incomprehensible how any scholar, in order to show that the Amorites were "barbarous mountaineers," having come as "savages from Arabia," could make such extensive use of two questionably restored passages without even a question mark, as well as the questionable interpretation of lines in two unpublished tablets—yes, in the light of all that scholars have written about the early history of Amurru.

6. Under his sixth point, Barton says concerning Ishtar of Aleppo (Haleb), that "there is no evidence to connect her with Erech." He will doubtless change his mind when he consults *RA*. 8, 163, where he will find in an Ishtar and Tammuz hymn, the following couplet: "The queen of Erech for her husband; The queen of Halab for her husband, wails." For similar couplets mentioning Ishtar with these two cities, see *AJSL* 23, 28; *SBP* p. 323, etc.

When Amorites moved to south Arabia, they carried the worship of Adad, Shamash, and Ashirta with them. In the transmigration, the gender of Shamash was changed, and he became the goddess Sams. Ashirta or Ashtar also became the god Athtar. This is a process that is well known to Assyriologists when deities are carried to foreign lands. By the introduction of an imaginary mother goddess, Professor Barton reverses the order. He claims that an Arabian mother goddess, of whose existence nothing is known, became Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, and also the Arabian god Athtar, as well as the Babylonian Ishtar [Ashtar], who in turn, as already mentioned, he says became the gods Ea, Sin, Shamash, Marduk, etc. A rehearsal of his claims I think is all that is necessary to characterize them.

He also has tried to prove the existence of another Arabian goddess Athirat, which he held was the origin of "the sacred post."

In a lengthy note published in my *Antiquity* (p. 24), Professor Torrey took issue with this creation. He now reverses the process and says that "the sacred post" was deified, and it became the god Ashur, the goddess Ashirta or Ashera and the imaginary Arabian goddess Athirat whose existence is questioned.

In his paper read before the Society he challenged me to produce epigraphic evidence for the reading *ash* in Ashtar. It was produced; see *Antiquity* page 24. In his article, he does not repeat the challenge, but without any reference to the proof that I have offered, he now says, "However, were we to grant the legitimacy of the reading Ashtar or Ashdar that would not prove the name of the goddess to be of West Semitic origin."

For years he has held that Tammuz was an Arabian deity, the son of the imaginary mother goddess above referred to. He admits that his Arabian name is unknown, but he should also admit that nothing else Arabian is known about him; yet in his text-books for students this appears as an established fact.

I have maintained that Tammuz, king of Erech, and the consort of Ashirta, queen of Aleppo, was an historical personage. In doing so, attention was called to the facts that the inscriptions refer to his native city; to his mother's name, Sirdu or Zertu; to his having been a usurper and a hunter; to the fact that he was also connected with Ashirta of Aleppo; to his wars with Elam; and to his having been the fourth king of the Erech kingdom, as shown by several versions of the kings' list written by Babylonian historians at Nippur and Larsa in the third millennium B. C. In short, while he was deified after death, the inscriptions clearly look upon him as having been a mortal.

Professor Barton, having on record in so many places the unproved assertion, presented as a fact, that Tammuz was an Arabian deity, now gives two reasons for holding that I have overlooked "the palpable distinction between myth and history" (p. 23). The first reason is, "When reigns upon the earth are assigned to deities, one may be sure he is dealing with myth, not history." Let me ask Professor Barton whether he still thinks that the gods Dungi or Shulgi, Gimil-Sin, Ishme-Dagan, and others, whose personal inscriptions we now possess, but to whom we have also many prayers and hymns as if they were deities, are myth and not history.

There is a passage in a hymn about Tammuz which reads: "At

the cedar tree, a distant place where he was born," etc., which has appeared to me to indicate that this usurper was a foreigner who was born perhaps in the Lebanon or Amanus mountains. Another mythologist previously held that this showed that Tammuz was the incarnation of some kind of wood, because he was born from a cedar. I am pleased to add, however, that in the light of the kings' lists, this scholar now thinks Tammuz historical. But Professor Barton in a note now writes, "One would have thought that the statement that Tammuz was born under a tree would have given him [that is, Clay] a clue to the correct interpretation, as it is natural that seed which falls from trees, should sprout under a tree" (p. 22). He also says concerning the name of his mother Sirdu, or Zertu, which may mean "seed," in the same note, that I have not perceived "that the myth is a statement that vegetation is born of seed." In answer to these interpretations, let me simply say that I am satisfied not to know more of what is known of "the well-known working of the mind of early man."

His second reason that Tammuz, who is credited with having ruled 100 years [others of his dynasty ruled longer], is not historical is that "When excessively long reigns are assigned to monarchs the narrative is partly, if not altogether mythical." He says as the reigns of Kronos and Zeus and the early rulers of China are recognized as being purely mythical, the rulers of Kish and Erech, to which Tammuz belonged, are of the same order. He tells us, "No serious scholar now thinks of these names as other than mythical."

I am pleased to say that I am one who regards the rulers of the Erech dynasty, to which Tammuz belonged, as being historical, and not mythological, and I find myself in a company that is rapidly growing larger. I believe that Tammuz, of whom we have historical traditions, as well as his predecessor, Lugal Marad, and his successor, Gilgamesh, concerning both of whom we have epics, were historical personages. The recent discovery of the inscriptions of A-anni-padda, the son of Mesh-anni-padda, the founder of the First Ur dynasty, makes it impossible to relegate the age immediately preceding to mythology. The Fara inscriptions and other stone inscriptions in our museums, it is acknowledged, are much earlier than those of A-anni-padda. Can they also be relegated to mythology? During the past thirty years I have seen so many

personal inscriptions turn up of so many mythological characters that had been created by the modern mythologists that instead of mythologizing others into the realm of mythology, I would sooner err, in our present knowledge of those things, by going to the other extreme and believing *mythus solus sunt mythi*.

The last argument under his sixth point presents a remnant of the paper he read before the Society, which was intended to disprove a "claim," that I had never made, namely, "that the first dynasty recorded in the Babylonian sources reigned in Aleppo." (See abstract, JOURNAL, 44, p. 156.) He discovered from my *Antiquity* manuscript that I had never said that the Kish dynasty ruled Aleppo, so he modified the premise of the point, but overlooked his seventh argument, which reads: "A final reason for thinking this mythological dynasty did not reign at Aleppo," etc. (p. 24). The reason he gives, however, should here be considered, because it has important bearing upon his claim that Aleppo was occupied by the Sumerians. It is, "that the Semites, whether Amorites or others, appear not to have obtained possession of the place [Aleppo] until after the reign of Rimush, the son of Sargon, the founder of the dynasty of Agade. At least its Patesi in the reign of Rimush seems to have borne the Sumerian name Lugal-ushum-gal" (p. 24).

For what Professor Barton calls an "infinitesimal possibility" this is a perfect example. He admits "the end of the name is broken off." Yes, only one character is fully preserved, namely *sharru* or *lugal*, and the rest is a restoration, thus Lugal-u[shum-gal], and yet he finds this sufficient evidence to regard Aleppo in Syria as Sumerian. On the basis of this he says in his *Archaeology* (p. 539), "The time when the Amorites took possession of Aleppo can be fixed with some probability as about 2700 B. C."

Besides this "infinitesimal possibility" for the Sumerian occupation of Amurru before the Semitic Amorite "savages" had arrived from east Arabia and tried to occupy Babylonia in the time of Sargon, the other evidence is the name, which he reads An-sir or An-gid, ⁴Sir or ⁴Gid, which may be the god Enlil or the god Nannar, but which he admits has one chance in four of being the Semitic Anbu. This is the sum of his evidence that the West was occupied by Sumerians prior to the arrival of the savages from Arabia 2700 B. C.

His complete evidence that Semites lived in Amurru before Ishbi-Urra in the middle of the twenty-fourth century B. C., is a proper name or two, as Is-ri-ili, son of Rish-zu-ni, found on a seal of the Agade period; and about 2500 B. C., Semitic pottery is found in Palestine, and by that time a wave of Semitic immigration had reached as far south as Gezer which it is reasonable to suppose was Amorite (p. 13). It would be interesting to have his proof that the pottery and the people of early Gezer were Semitic. He could just as well have called them Sumerian or Akkadian. This is the sum of his evidence that Semites lived in Amurru prior to Ishbi-Urra.

Professor Luckenbill, his fellow opponent of my contentions, in view of the many recent discoveries and the opinions expressed by other scholars that Amurru was early occupied by Semites, after setting forth his present view that even the third Ur dynasty was foreign and of western origin, and that Amorite workmen were employed in Babylonia as early as the Agade dynasty, writes: "I confess that I am at a loss to discover just what the discussion is about. This is due, I am quite sure, to my obdurate obtuseness, rather than to any lack of lucidity on the part of the champion of the Amurru hypothesis." For an answer to his inquiry and difficulty, I think Luckenbill need read only the first twenty-four pages of Barton's article.

As I said before, this problem divides itself into two parts: First, the antiquity of Amorite civilization prior to the time of Hammurabi; and second, the Amorite or Babylonian origin of the Genesis traditions. If what Professor Barton here presents is all that can be produced after seventeen years of opposition concerning the first half of the problem, which we have thus far considered, it seems to me that every unbiased follower of the discussion must conclude, in the light of it and of what has been previously set forth, that the first part of the problem, namely the question as to a great antiquity of Amorite civilization prior to Hammurabi, irrespective of its ultimate origin, is settled. Naturally it will never be determined how great this antiquity may be.

As we proceed with the reconstruction of Amorite history many details will need modification, and many proposals will be found wanting. Certainly I shall hereafter take it for granted that a great antiquity for the Western Semites is an established fact; and shall

continue to fit into the rewriting of Amorite history the almost daily accessions that research is furnishing.

7. The second part of the so-called Amurru hypothesis which deals with the origin of Biblical traditions is altogether a different question. As is well known, during the past decades, European scholars have advocated the view that the first eleven chapters of Genesis are of Babylonian origin, which idea has been generally accepted and popularized in America. Not only the Creation and Deluge stories are Babylonian nature-myths, but the Hebrew names beginning with Adam were taken from Babylonian mythological lists, and changed or transformed into Hebrew. The Sabbath was also a Babylonian institution.

In 1907 I began to publish objections to these views, and have since endeavored to show that they are groundless. In doing so, it first became necessary to show that an early civilization actually existed in the West, from which these traditions could emanate. Part One of this discussion, as mentioned already, shows that this much is now determined.

I feel that in my *Origin of Biblical Traditions* I have fully met every argument that has been advanced to show that Genesis was borrowed from Babylonia. I believe that I have satisfactorily demonstrated that the philological gymnastics that have been employed to twist the various names of Babylonian kings into Hebrew names, are absurd. In showing that the Creation and Deluge stories were carried from Amurru to Babylonia, I have presented hundreds of facts and reasons under four heads: migrations, climatic conditions, names, and literary characteristics.

Under migrations I discussed at length the conquests, invasions, and migrations in which Amurru figured; and showed that all evidence indicates that Amorites migrated to the Babylonian alluvium in nearly every period, and that there is no evidence whatever, except the return of the Hebrews to their Zion, to show that people migrated from Babylonia to the West. I believe, as it is well known that religion and religious traditions migrate with a people, that in this study is to be found the most important factor in determining the problem before us. (See *Traditions*, 33 ff.)

This most important of all my evidence, involving a mass of facts of a wide range, Professor Barton answers in twelve lines on page 27, by repeating his unproved assertions: "Amorites may have

conquered Babylonia, but they did not apparently invade it from the West Semitic world. They were East Semites," etc. (*q. v.*).

In a study of climatic conditions in Babylonia and Amurru, as well as of the forces which are credited with having given rise to the so-called nature myths, the Creation and Deluge stories, I feel that I have shown that all the versions, Biblical, Babylonian, and Greek, clearly indicate that they reflect not the climate of Babylonia, but rather that of Amurru. Professor Barton agrees that I have shown that scholars have made a mistake in thinking that the rainy seasons and the overflow of the rivers coincided, and that "Zimmern and others have doubtless tried to rationalize the creation myth into too close a reflection of the yearly succession of seasons." Yes, Professor Barton should have added, that what I have presented upsets completely the very premise of the one all-important argument upon which it has hitherto been claimed that the stories are Babylonian nature-myths, having had their origin in the heavy rains and annual inundations, after which spring and vegetation followed (see *Traditions*, 75 ff.). But he adds, "This fact does not dispose of the Babylonian origin of the Creation myth, nor even make such origin doubtful" (p. 27). Then he presents a brand new theory, that when the poetic story was developed, the thunder-storms and winds of the winter season, the natural weapons of a god in a fight [I suppose he refers to the Marduk versus Tiamat conflict], were put together with what followed in the spring when the sea had to be overcome by dykes. This remodeled theory I should think would tax even the credulity of those who have an *a priori* bias on the subject.

Let me only add that it is upon that kind of a supposition that we are now asked to believe that the Hebrews borrowed this so-called nature-myth from Babylonia. I am pleased to add that our aged savant Professor Sayce, who during a long life has held to the Babylonian origin of the creation story, shows a different attitude. Instead of spinning another feeble theory to take the place of the one that has been dominant from the very beginning, he writes: "Professor Clay has made out a good case, I believe, for the 'Amorite' origin of the Creation story, which in its present form is a glorification of Merodach" (*JRAS* 1924, 113).

The climatic conditions that applied to the Creation story, applied also to the deluge. All versions indicate that the force

responsible for the Deluge was not inundations but rain, which according to meteorological statistics, at the present time is little more than negligible in Babylonia, whereas in the Lebanon mountains at present it is almost twelve times as great (see *Traditions*, 150 ff.).

In answer to this, Professor Barton completely abandons all the claims that the flood story was a myth which had arisen because of the annual inundations, even making no reference to the theory of seismic disturbances in the Persian Gulf which some scholars advanced because of the difficulties involved; but on the basis of an account of a storm in March, 1889, related by Professor Peters, and because of a change in the climate which is generally recognized, he simply asserts that "modern climatic conditions, therefore, fully account for the Babylonian origin of the story." Without commenting on this feeble effort let me simply say that it must be apparent to every unbiased reader that in this he concedes that the heretofore all-important argument which has been given for the Babylonian origin of this supposed nature-myth, namely the annual inundation of the rivers, must be given up. To base the deluge on an extraordinary climatic condition is of course an entirely different matter. Such might have taken place in any land and at any time. The weakness of the present position must be very apparent.

Under the third head, I discussed all the names of deities and persons in the Babylonian story, and showed that they are of West Semitic origin. Let us first consider the *primaeva* gods. I said Apsu is from the Hebrew root '*apas*' "to come to an end," to which other derivatives besides '*epes*' belong. In Babylonia I endeavored to show that *apsu*, for which there is no etymology, originally meant "the end of the land" upon which Eridu and its temple were built, for which abundance of evidence is given in *Traditions* (see p. 79).

In answer to this Professor Barton introduces two brand new etymologies for the Hebrew and Babylonian words. The Hebrew root '*apas*', by metathesis, is from '*asaph*' 'to gather.' He says the Babylonian *Apsu* is from two words, the Semitic *Ab* "father" and the Sumerian *zu* "wise." "Thus here on Babylonian soil we have a complete and satisfactory account of the origin of the word [apsu] and of the part Apsu played in the creation epic." This is followed by some new mythological conjectures which I

will not consume space to repeat (see p. 35 f.). Whether these etymologies will appeal to any scholar I doubt.

Tiamat, I showed, belonged to the Mediterranean West, where we have not only the root, but several allied roots, and their derivatives in use. There is no etymology for the word in Babylonian, where even the middle character of the original word is never represented in any of the many variant forms of this foreign word. I have also shown that all Babylonian legends refer to Tiamat not as the mother of the Babylonian gods, as recorded in this Creation story, but always as representing a foreign and inimical power (*Traditions*, 87 ff.). This is the only word in the Babylonian version that shows any connection whatever with the Biblical story which contains the word *tehom* "deep," and which has figured so prominently in the argument for the Babylonian origin of the story.

Professor Barton dismisses the subject by simply asserting that the root is primitive Semitic, and that it was native to early Akkadian speech (which he cannot prove), though it became obsolete afterwards (p. 37). In other words, the Hebrews borrowed the myth with *tehom* in it before the word had become obsolete. This must have been while they were in the desert. This will probably not be very convincing or comforting, even to the biased. Mummu is included with Tiamat by Barton in the assertions mentioned above.

Hubur, in Ummu-hubur "mother of the assembly," a title of Tiamat, I have shown is from a well-known West Semitic root, Hebrew or Amorite, of which a number of derivatives were in use; and I have shown that in Babylonian the root is not in use; but that *paḥaru* was used instead; and moreover that the word *hubur* is glossed with *puḥru* in the late version of the deluge text.

Barton answers this very important point by saying that the early Akkadian *hubur* [of which there is no trace], by metathesis became *puḥru*. Had he consulted the texts of the Agade dynasty written shortly after the supposed arrival of the Akkadian Arabs from the East Arabian desert, he would have found that the root *paḥaru* was then in use. It seems, therefore, that a revision of his Arabian theory is in order; and that this nature-myth should be regarded as of Arabian origin so as to leave time for these words to have become obsolete, and for the savage Amorite Arabs to have carried them to the West.

I have endeavored to show also that Lahmu and Lahamu, and their children El (or Anu) and Ea, as well as Gaga, other deities found in the creation story, are not Babylonian, but are West Semitic. Professor Barton makes no effort to show that this important contention is incorrect.

If a legend containing only two names of heroes, for example Achilles and Agamemnon, were discovered, who would say that it was other than a Greek legend? In the deluge story I have shown that the only two personal names mentioned, the hero Atra-hasis, and his pilot, Buzur-Amurru, bore Amorite names. I need not add that this is of paramount importance. In his previous effort, Professor Barton tried to show that *Kur-gal*, read Amurru in names, was one of my "unreal equivalences." But page 12 of my *Antiquity*, or rather its manuscript, apparently inspired him to abandon this. He now passes these two names of the epic in silence. The inquiring student has a very important point to register here in connection with these two Amorite names.

I endeavored to show also that all the gods in the deluge stories are Amorite, not Babylonian. But, what is more important than all else, I discovered that in the earliest Babylonian version of the story, Ilu or El, not Anu, Enlil or any other Sumerian god was the foremost deity. This at a stroke upsets claims heretofore made. I find not a word on this in his paper. All he says about the gods in the deluge story, with the exception of his frequently made assertion, that "if they are Amorite, that is proof that they are Akkadian," is in contesting my claim as regards Nebo. Let us examine this point.

I have heretofore given the following reasons for saying Nebo was West Semitic: (1) That the deity is prominently mentioned in the Amorite (West Semitic) inscriptions as an element in names; (2) that besides Mount Nebo there were two cities in Palestine named Nebo; (3) that the earliest mention of the Nabû worship in Babylonia known to me is in the reign of the Amorite Hammurabi; (4) that only one Babylonian city, Barsip, was dedicated to this deity; (5) that Nabû does not appear in the "Akkadian Name Syllabary"; (6) that he does appear in the "Amorite Name Syllabary"; and (7) that there are many names compounded with Nabû in the cuneiform inscriptions that are unquestionably Amorite.

Barton heretofore passed in silence all these reasons but one. He

says (p. 25) that I "misconceive the bearing of the facts," and that the existence of more than one place name in Palestine with Nebo spoils the argument, for since there are fifteen Dublins in America, while only one in Ireland, that does not show that America settled Ireland" (p. 25 f.). But Professor Barton failed to see that by his introduction here of the fact that they are shrine names, like *Bit-Nabû* (along with two others on Mount Nebo), he has completely spoiled his own argument. I say, just why the fact that there were a number of shrines or cities dedicated to Nebo's worship about the mount sacred to Nebo, and that only one, comparatively late, city in Babylonia was sacred to this god, spoils the argument, is certainly unintelligible to me.

Since the appearance of my *Antiquity* he now gives two proofs to show that Nabû was worshipped in Babylonia before the time of Hammurabi. While there is no reason why this Amorite god should not have been worshipped in Babylonia prior to Hammurabi, let us examine his reasons for saying that he was. He says, (1) "The name Nabû was often expressed by the Sumerian ideogram ^dPA, an abbreviation of ^dPA-SAG, 'Chief-divine-scribe,' a deity whose worship is traceable at Lagash from 3000 to 2500 B. C." He refers for proof to his *Origins* pp. 210-212, where is found the remarkable statement that "the goddess 'Tammuz of the deep' must have been the real deity of Borsippa [coming from Lagash] out of which Nabû was developed by processes with which we are already familiar." On this, comment does not seem necessary. But where in the early inscriptions does ^dPA as an abbreviation occur? And if Professor Barton will look up the meaning of ^dPA-SAG, he will find that the ideogram represents not Nabû, but the god Ishum. Moreover, in the first dynasty of Babylon when this foreign name Nabû first occurs, with the exception of a few cases written with ^dAG, it is always written Nabium (Ranke *PN*, 202). This and the fact that ^dPA never occurs as an abbreviation of ^dPA-SAG in the early texts dispose of his first argument.

He says, (2) the god Nabû, written ^dAG, occurs in Fara inscriptions written 3200 B. C. (see p. 26). But turning to page 10 of his article we find that he has already quoted ^dAG, and quite correctly, as a personal name. There he also tells us what is also correct, that Mar sometimes followed the name, which since other names have Mar-tu [or Marru] "the Amorite" following them, he

is anxious lest some one will think is proof that Mar and Martu [or Marru] refer to the city Mar or the West. However, to consider this name, which is equivalent to the common *Ilu-bâni*, as representing a man and also a god in the same payrolls will certainly not pass muster. What then becomes of his two arguments for the early occurrence of Nabû in Babylonia?

In asserting on page 11 that Mar had nothing to do with Mari, he says "Mari is always written Mâ-ri^{ki}." If he will examine the Hammurabi Code he will find that he is mistaken.

Under the fourth head of my arguments bearing on literary characteristics, I have discussed about twenty-three words occurring in the Babylonian versions of the creation and deluge stories as being Hebrew or Amorite, and as not being in use in Babylonia. Some of these have a very important bearing upon the problem. He discussed but one of the twenty-three.

In the deluge story I found that because of the *rigim*, "clamor," of man (or as stated in the Old Testament, because "the earth was corrupt and filled with violence") the Babylonian version tells us a famine was determined upon by "cursing the ground." Then follow these lines:

Let the fig tree (*te-i-na*) for the people be [cut off].

[In] their [bellies], let the plant become scarce.

. the sheep let Adad destroy.

In *te-i-na* I recognized the Hebrew word for "fig tree." Instead of *te-i-na*, in the late version of this epic, upon which the above restoration is based, I found *ti-ta* substituted, which is the Babylonian word for "fig tree." Knowing that in the garden of Eden, Adam and Eve made aprons out of fig leaves; that the expression, "when a man lived under his own vine and fig tree" in Palestine was a literary expression intended to convey the idea of prosperity; that when Israel was to be punished, "her vines and fig trees were to be laid waste,"—in short, that the word is commonly found in the literature of the land; and knowing on the other hand that Herodotus tells us that there was no fig tree in alluvial Babylonia; and knowing that while thousands of contracts refer to date traffic, traffic in figs is little more than known, and moreover, knowing that the Babylonians made no use of the word "fig tree" as a literary expression, I concluded that the Hebrew word *te-i-na* in

the early version, which was later displaced by the Babylonian word *ti-ta*, was crucial evidence of the Hebrew or Amorite origin of the story.

In opposition to this, Professor Barton now says: "It is a mistake, however, to think that it was unknown there." I never said that it was. I said that "while thousands of contracts refer to the fruit of the date palm, traffic in figs is little more than known" (*Traditions* p. 177). He then refers to a passage taken from Gudea's dedication of the temple, when different products were presented as offerings to the deity, among which are olive oil [the olive tree also is not indigenous in the alluvial plain], figs, and grapes, as evidence of the incorrectness of my views. In answer let me say I would not for a moment question that Gudea had a fig tree in his garden, since I know that he brought different kinds of trees from the West; certainly Nebuchadnezzar must have had such in his hanging gardens. I recall, however, that fig trees are even found in Connecticut hot-houses. If figs and olive oil used in a ritual is proof that the fig and olive tree were indigenous in Babylonia, we have proof that olive trees grow in New England, where olive oil also is used in ritual incense.

Barton then adds this remarkable explanation concerning the passage, "Let the fig tree for the people be cut off." He says, "The conditions presupposed in this Deluge text seem to me to be clearly these: Men have forsaken their god, and are consuming the figs, a delicacy that should have been offered to deity. As a punishment the figs of which they were robbing the god were taken away, then the grain, their own normal sustenance, was cut off" (p. 30). That is, Barton tells us, the cause of the seven years famine, which was so dire that the people ate their children, and which was followed by the deluge, was because men consumed "the figs, a delicacy that should have been offered to deity." In this manner, one of the twenty-three words in these texts, to which I have called attention as being Hebrew or Amorite, is disposed of.⁴ I will pass this with-

⁴ Dr. Oswald T. Allis, of the Princeton Seminary, in a review (*PTR* 1923, 659) says that while the statement that the deluge fragment "contains some Babylonized Hebrew or West Semitic words is perhaps true," he has doubts about translating *te-i-na* as "figs," and says "the reading is far from certain," quoting Jensen as giving the same reading but a different translation. But in looking up Jensen's reading and rendering

out any further comment, except to say that I doubt whether this will convince even a layman of the incorrectness of my view that the stories are Amorite.

One more point and I have finished. I endeavored to show that all efforts to find the story of Paradise in Babylonia have thus far been futile. Some scholars have caused the Babylonian king's name, Alaparos, to lose all its consonants and become Adam; others have changed Adapa into Adam. While Professor Barton draws extensive comparisons between the Adapa legend and the Fall (see *Archaeology*, p. 283), he twists the name Aripī, king of Kish, so that it loses all its consonants and becomes Adam; but Eden he claims was in southern Babylonia.

I have said that it was difficult to see how any intelligent Babylonian or even a Hebrew who possessed a little common sense and knew of the colossal cooperations required to harness the two rivers, could think of the home of the first parents being in that alluvium; quoting at the same time the prophets Amos and Ezekiel, the latter having placed Eden in north Mesopotamia. I also took exception to Professor Barton's view that Genesis represented all mankind as living in the neighborhood of Babylon until they attempted to reach heaven by means of the Tower of Babel, which idea, in the light of what we now know concerning the meaning of the expression "its head in the heavens," it seemed incredible that any one at present could believe.

Here is another interesting example of the dual use of the same material. In *Traditions*, p. 168, I called attention to the fact that Ezekiel identified Eden with two cities in Mesopotamia, Haran and Canneh, the latter being regarded as Kannu in the inscriptions.

(*KB* 6, 1, 288) I find something quite different: "a-[n]a ni-ši [.]?i-na = [. . .] den Mentosen." In justice to Professor Jensen for being quoted thus today by any one it ought to be stated that his reading was based in 1900 on a very imperfect copy which another had made of the tablet. Dr. Allis's queries and difficulties about the deities he refers to, make it apparent that he is not familiar with the works upon which the discussion is based. Perhaps the note above will help him in his difficulty to understand my use of the terms Hebrew and Amorite, etc. But he should have noted the difference between finding an occasional Pa'el form with the preformative vowel i in the whole Babylonian literature, and finding perhaps six such forms in a fragment of not many lines. His translation "a god was absent" would perhaps not have been given had I used El instead of "God" in my translation.

In his *Archaeology* p. 432, Barton correctly says that Kannu is Canneh of Ezekiel, which was near Haran in Mesopotamia. In my *Antiquity* I used the passage in Ezekiel against his placing Eden in Shinar. In his Appendix p. 541, forgetting what he had written on p. 432 of the same book, he writes that I am wrong; that Canneh is a corruption of Calneh of Gen. 10: 10, identified with Nippur by the Talmud; and that Ezekiel places Eden farther south in the alluvium. This he repeats in the *JOURNAL*, p. 31, adding that "here is one man who thought that Eden was in the Alluvium."

It would be interesting to have Professor Barton explain how this intelligent prophet who had lived in Babylonia, and had seen that the people built dykes fifteen to twenty feet high to avoid being washed annually into the sea, could believe that our first parents lived there. And it would also be interesting to have him tell us how Ezekiel came to believe that in this alluvial garden every precious stone, topaz, diamond, etc. was found (*Ezek.* 28: 13).

His second proof that Eden was in southern Babylonia, is based on his own translation of the first verse of the Tower of Babel story, which he reads, And it came to pass as they journeyed "*from the east*," which, as is well known, scholars for centuries have translated "*toward the east*" or "*eastward*." To this he then adds, "Here, then, are two Hebrews who thought of placing Eden in the plain of Shinar" (p. 33). In this case, it should have been added that the Hebrew writer of Genesis did not use very intelligent language, since he, Professor Barton, tells us it was in the alluvial plain in the land of Shinar that they had dwelt, and yet this scribe wrote "as they journeyed '*from the East*' [i. e. the plain of Shinar] they found a plain in the land of Shinar and dwelt there."

To the above he adds that I seem to have overlooked that in the Creation story Ea created mankind, and that the first dwelling of man and gods was established at Babylon. Here he tells us is the proof "that an '*intelligent Babylonian*' as well as two Hebrews held the belief that Paradise was in the '*plain of Shinar*'" (p. 34). I am quite sure that Professor Barton knows as well as I do that all Assyriologists agree that Babylon's priests substituted Babylon and its god for other places and gods in this story. Moreover, it is my view that at Eridu the same thing occurred, after the story had been brought from the West. I am quite sure that Professor Barton

would not for a moment think that the Hebrews, who have handed down a religious literature unparalleled for its height in ancient times as far as we know, in using such archaic *naïvetés* as God walking with Adam in the cool of the evening; making fig-leaf aprons for him and Eve; shutting the door of the ark; coming down to see the Tower of Babel; etc. did not do so realizing fully that they were products of a very primitive era when human intelligence had not reached a very high stage, and because they were a heritage from their own archaic past. But is it conceivable that such should have been borrowed from far off Babylonia?

It is quite true that Professor Barton pointed out more than twenty years ago that "the tree with its fruit and its primitive society seemed to go back to a pre-Babylonian Arabian oasis life" (p. 24); but what scholar has accepted the idea?

In the light of all this criticism let us now inquire how the second part of the Amurru hypothesis stands, namely that the materials for the early chapters of Genesis are from Western traditions, some of which the Amorites, in one of the early periods when we know they migrated to the alluvial plain of Shinar, carried with them. This is a question of great importance to all Biblical students, because it is asserted in a thousand works that exactly the reverse is true.

In *The Origin of Biblical Traditions* an attempt was made to meet all arguments that have been advanced for the Babylonian origin, which are not only few in number, but are almost entirely based on theories and assertions. As seen above, those which have played the leading rôle are now abandoned or modified. In the two stories of creation in Genesis, as well as in the references to it in Job, Psalms, and Proverbs, not a name such as Rahab, Leviathan, etc., and not a word, except *tehom* (but on this see above) has even been claimed to be Babylonian. As regards the story of Paradise, not even a distant parallel story has been found in Babylonian literature; and the Babylonians never observed the Sabbath. As regards the Biblical Deluge story no effort has been made to show that even a single name or word is Babylonian, as El, Yahweh, Noah, *mabbul* "flood," *tebah* "ark," etc. Even the causes of the deluge given in the Bible do not point to Babylonia, where rain is

negligible (on this see above), and the breaking up of the fountains of the deep would be unintelligible, for there are no springs in the alluvium. The one detail that has been said to be Babylonian is the pitch used on the ark; but Hit, where they obtained it, was in Amurru; and moreover, we even see pitch used on boats in America. Not a single detail, therefore, in the Biblical stories is Babylonian. And as regards all the names between Adam and Abraham, not one, whether of individual or place, except those referred to as being Babylonian, has been shown to be Babylonian. And on the other hand, whenever discovery or research gives any light on the hundred names, more or less, we find that they belong to the West. The names of Nahor, Serug, and Terah, the immediate ancestors of Abraham, for example, we now find are place names in the vicinity of Haran. We may even expect to find a great city Enoch. In other words, the traditions of Genesis have come from a body of literature that belonged peculiarly to the West.

On the other hand I have given hundreds of reasons based on facts to prove that the creation and deluge stories were carried from the West to Babylonia, where they were only partially Babylonized, for in the different versions, a hundred details still remain to show their Amorite origin. I have no doubt that later some of these details will be seen in a different light; a few have already been modified; but discovery and research are furnishing us with a steady stream of proof of the correctness of the view.

It seems to me that if any one desires to champion the former theory it becomes necessary not only to select a detail here and there which lends itself to another interpretation, but to consider all the proof. But what is more to the point, let all the proof that can at present be mustered in support of the Babylonian origin be restated, and let the Biblical student see what it looks like.

BRIEF NOTES.

*Textual Notes on the Hebrew Bible*¹

1. In Lev. 21, 11, we read concerning the high priest **ועל כל יבא** **ינשח מן לא יבא**. The expression is difficult. What does it mean "to go into a dead body"? The word *nefesh* here should be taken in the sense which it sometimes has in the Talmud (see Talmudical Dictionaries) i. e. monument, tomb or mausoleum. This explanation gains plausibility from the Talmudical principle of uncleanness caused by being under the same shelter with a corpse; see *Nazir* 38a, *Sanh.* 4a et al., cf. Matt. 23, 27, Luke 11, 44. The noun has same meaning in Syriac and in Nabataean (s. Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epig.* 324).

2. The proverbial expression **עצור ועיב** has given the commentators a great deal of trouble. See Driver's *Deuteronomy* (in the Int. Crit. Com. p. 376) where six different explanations are cited, not counting those of the older Jewish commentators. None of these explanations fits into all the five passages where the phrase occurs. It is found in two sorts of context. In 1 Kings 14, 10; 21, 21; 2 Kings 9, 8 it is used in connection with a warning for a total destruction of the house of Jeroboam or the house of Ahab, while in Deut. 32, 36 and 2 Kings 14, 26 it is employed in a description of the helplessness of Israel. Now perhaps the most accepted explanation of the phrase is "the fettered and the free"; but this explanation hardly suits the two last mentioned passages. What sense is there to a translation such as: "For the Lord shall judge his people and repent himself for his servants when he seeth that their power is gone and there is none fettered nor free" (Deut. 32, 36), or "For the Lord saw the affliction of Israel that it was very bitter; for there was none fettered nor free nor any helper for Israel" (2 Kings 14, 16). I think therefore that **עצור** is from the root **עצר** meaning "to rule" (comp. 1 Sam. 9, 17) and **עיב** from **עוב** meaning to "relieve" a load (see Ex. 23, 5)—so far I follow Rashi (comp. Ass. *uṣēzib*, and Aram **שיב** "to save, to deliver")—and that the words **עצור עיב** are an illustration of the *qatûl* as active substantive. See Gesenius-Kautzsch, 1910,

¹ See my glosses on the Hebrew Bible in *JAOS* 42, 390 and 41, 75.

§ 50 f. and § 84 a. m. The form is even more common in Talm. Hebrew, e. g. רכוב "riding," שקור "industrious," תפוש "holding." See Barth, *Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, pt. 1, p. 175. Thus the phrase means "a ruler and a helper." The expression משחין בקר ועצור ועוזב בישראל in the first three mentioned passages signifies from the humblest to the highest in Israel.

3. Zeph. 2, 8 ויגדילו על גבולם. The word ויגדילו—in Eng. "and they vaunted themselves"—is suspicious. One does not speak, as Wellhausen observes, of a territory or border as an object of taunting. Read ויגרילו "and they cast lots on their boundary." Comp. Obad. 1. 11 "and they cast lots upon Jerusalem," also Num. 26, 55 "only by a lot shall the land be divided." The *hiphil* of the verb גרל is not uncommon in Mishnaic Hebrew.

4. Zeph. 2, 14 כי ארזה ערה. These words have given a great deal of trouble. The translation "for he shall uncover their cedar" has no meaning. We should read אֶרְזָה עֶרְה "I shall destroy its city." This harmonizes very well with the next verse where the prophet in anticipation exclaims: "This is the rejoicing city . . . how is she become a desolation." Zeph. used the word רזה in the same chapter v. 11. If the verb there is to be read with Marti in the *piel*, then the reading here should be אֶרְזָה. Comp. Ar. *raza'a* "to damage, to harm."

5. Zeph. 3, 3 לא גרמי לבקר. The word גרמי has baffled all interpreters, some of whom have abandoned it as hopeless. See Gray, *ad. loc.* But by such a slight emendation as changing the *mem* to *samek* we obtain the word גרסי which suits the context well. The word גרם, prop. to crush, also means to long, to desire. Cf. Ps. 119, 20, where all the old versions take the word in this sense. Comp. Arabic *ijtirās*, "strive for." Our verse should therefore be translated: "Her princes in the midst of her are roaring lions; her judges are evening wolves; they hope not for the morning." This is for the reason that under the cloak of darkness they can better carry on their lawless activity. Job calls such malefactors מרדי אור "rebels against the light." This reading is supported by the Syriac version, "they do not expect the morning." The word מוריכין in the Targum should be taken in the sense of awaiting or hoping.

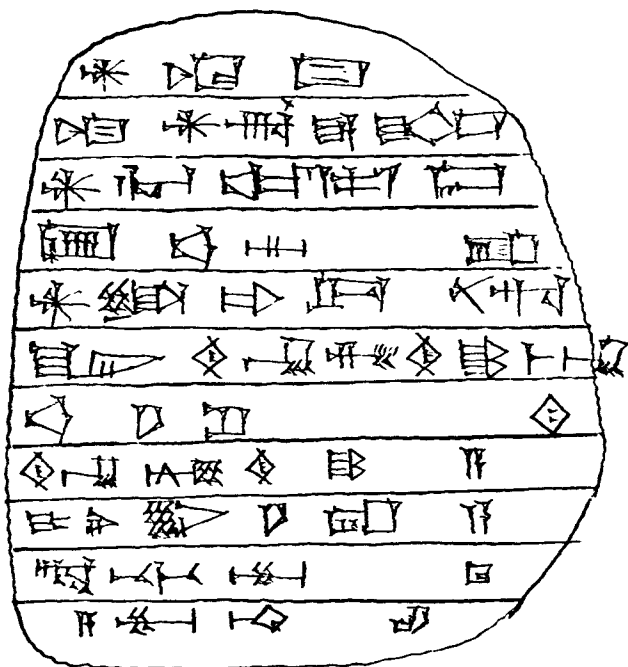
6. Zeph. 3, 6 "Their cities are destroyed so that there is no man, so that there is no inhabitant." The word נצרו is Aramaic and occurs nowhere else in the Bible. Read נצרו "they fell in ruins" which is often accompanied by the phrase מאין יושב. Comp. Je. 2, 15; 4, 7; 46, 19. Graetz reads נרצו which is not quite as near our text.

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A new inscription of Libit-Ishtar

This new inscription of Libit-Ishtar, the fifth king of the dynasty of Isin, who ruled 2360-2349 B. C., is the property of Mrs. C. F. Platt, of New Britain, Conn. It is rather clumsily cut on a highly



polished stone—a natural combination of chalcedony and agate—oval in shape, which doubtless once formed an eye of a statue of the goddess Ninlil, to whom it is dedicated. Mrs. Platt and her first husband, Mr. Larrabee, were formerly missionaries in Persia. She

thinks that it was in 1899 or 1900 that her husband visited Mosul and purchased the stone while on that journey. The stone measures 1 and $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $\frac{15}{16}$ of an inch in width and $\frac{5}{16}$ of an inch in thickness at its thickest part.

As the inscription is addressed to Ninlil, and as Dr. Haynes was excavating at Nippur when it was purchased, I suspect that it came from that place. Probably some Arab concealed it and sold it. So far as appears, however, the statue to which it belonged was not found.

It reads as follows:

Transliteration

1. *^anin-lil*
2. *nin dingir-ri-e-ne*
3. *^aininni sag a-du¹-dim*
4. *ûr-û-mu-ra*
5. *li-bi-it-^aininni*
6. *lugal ki-en-gi^kî ûri me-en*
7. *ud gar-si-di ²*
8. *ki-en-gi^kî ûri-a*
9. *dumu-ia ³ in-gar-ra-a*
10. *nam-til-mu-šù*
11. *a-mu-na-šub*

Translation

1. To Ninlil,
2. Lady of the gods,
3. like Ishtar a leader of progress,
4. protection of my outgoing:
5. Libit-Ishtar,
6. king of Sumer and Akkad am I.
7. When justice was established
8. in Sumer and Akkad,
9. my son Ingarra
10. for my life
11. presented.

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¹ *a-du* = *alaktu*; Br. 11494.

² Br. 12032.

³ The context shows that here *ni* is to be read *ia*; cf. Barton, *OBW* 228⁴⁴.

A note on the closing lines of the story of the shipwrecked sailor

I offer here a new interpretation of the lines 179 to 186 of the story of the shipwrecked sailor, omitting for brevity's sake a more detailed discussion in justification of my translation. The verb *ših* in line 180 has generally been taken to mean "to land," and thereby the whole of the succeeding lines, and in particular the reply of the prince, has been misunderstood. There is, however, no reason to translate the verb otherwise than as in the preceding line 178, where we read "I was invested with his serfs" (literally "heads," like Sumero-Akkadian *sag nita*, *rešwardum*, and *sag gem rešamtum*). In order to read in line 180 "after I landed," we should have to emend the determinatives, substituting the walking legs for the bookroll. I think that the scribe, however, has omitted the *m* after the verb. The translation is: "Look at me after I have been invested with the land (and) after I have seen and have undergone experiences (literally: "tasted"). Listen unto me, (for) behold, it is good to give ear unto man."

With *m;wy* the same subject is taken up again which the shipwrecked man had brought before the prince in lines 12-20. He stated there that he was not one who exaggerated (*ink šw h;w*) in saying that much of one's success depended upon a good and fluent verbal expression. To exemplify this he narrates what he had experienced, and how, after he had told the king about it in good delivery, he had been rewarded with serfs and a fief. In line 179 he takes up the subject again and presents himself as one who has succeeded through good delivery of his story.

But the prince is rather sceptical over the shipwrecked sailor's vain-glory. The text continues in line 183: "He said to me: 'Do not brag (*m iry ikr*), my friend!'" And in order to admonish him, he continues to quote (expressed by *in*) a proverb, which must have cooled the enthusiasm of the man. "Let water be given to the fowl at daybreak which is to be killed in the morning." The sense is clearly: You received your distinction, but take good care of yourself or you might lose all. Do not be too self-confident in the power of your word and remember the proverb that even the fowl which is slaughtered in the morning still receives water before its death.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Zum Wörterbuch des Rgveda. Von WALTER NEISSER. Erstes Heft (*a-ausāna*). [Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XVI. Band, Nr. 4.] Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS, 1924. xiii + 205 pp.

More than fifty years ago (1873) Hermann Grassmann, Professor in the Marienstifts-Gymnasium in Stettin (Pomerania), published his *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, and it is not saying too much that, next to the Petersburg Lexicons, his work has been the most constantly used, and the most useful among the many stirring works published by Indologists before and after that date. Grassmann was something of a genius: filologist, comparative grammarian, and noted mathematician. He discovered, in 1863, the Sanskrit and Greek laws of dissimilation of I. E. voiced aspirates in successive syllables (I. E. *bheudheti, 'he perceives,' Skt. bódhati; Greek πούθεται; cf. Goth. biuda), next to Verner's law the most important subsidiary to Grimm's law, and a very important feature of the history of the I. E. stops (mutes).¹ This lexicon, which includes an almost complete word for word concordance of the RV., entailed upon its author the task of appraising in its entirety the morphology, syntax, and meaning of that book. To this day Grassmann is the constant companion of every Vedist, Iranist, and Comparative Grammarian, and is likely to remain so for an indefinite time.

Much Thames water has flown under London bridge since then. Grassmann's lexicon was followed in 1876 and 1877 by the same author's complete translation of the RV., flanked by Ludwig's great Translation, Commentary, Historic Introduction, and Index (1876-1888). The work of interpreting the RV., begun by Roth in the Petersburg Lexicon, was continued by Bergaigne, Geldner, Hillebrandt, Max Müller, Pischel, Oldenberg, and many others. There has been a steady advance in the understanding of this prime document of Hindu literature and religion, but it is still full of riddles. Dr. Walter Neisser, himself an independent and effective scholar of the Veda, has now undertaken to sift, criticise, and summarize the results of Rig-Vedic study in a sort of running com-

¹ KZ. 12, 81-138.

mentary to the Lexicon of the RV. which is obviously intended as an exhibit of the present state of RV. interpretation, more particularly with reference to difficult and disputed words and expressions. The published first part deals with the vowels (Grassmann, columns 1-368, nearly one-fourth of that work), and may therefore be looked upon as a history and a critique of RV. interpretation in so far as it involves about one-fourth of the RV. Lexicon.

Neisser has handled a difficult task with the utmost devotion and thoroughness. As far as he has gone he has worked over every passage, listed all the difficulties and their often very divergent successive manipulations by one after another scholar who has tried his hand at their solution; and, finally, stated his own conclusions. I might perhaps say that, after all, he is at times a little too much under the influence of the authority of the great in Vedic interpretation, none of whom have escaped their bad quarter of an hour. This may be taken rather as a token of his warm sympathy with an honest effort in a field that calls for every available resource of ingenuity, and naturally leads at times to over-ingenuity. It is but to be expected that strange attitudes and bizarre points of view crop up in many an attempt to penetrate the haze that hangs over the subject. There is something confusing in this, something calculated to cloud the vision, to a point where it goes beyond the inherent obscurity of the subject. One or the other illustration of this defect will appear in the following: in the main Neisser is wholly sane, impartial, and self-poised. I would also remark that Neisser, who has a keen eye to comparative grammar, occasionally sacrifices sharpness of filological outline to considerations of general etymology. What help can we expect, e. g., from the lengthily discussed, dubious comparative etymology of *īd*, 'revere,' when we consider its undoubted derivation from *iṣ-d* (like *pīd* from *piṣ-d*; *mīd* from *mṛṣ-d*, or *mṛḡ-d*)? ² No real help comes to *īd* from either Greek *ἄδομαι*, or Latin *aestumare*, or Gothic *aistan*. That the equation of Sk. *arī* (in compounds) with Greek *ἔρι-*, *ἄρι-* is really misleading, will appear below, and the subtleties in the uses of the preposition *abhī* are not likely to be solved by assuming two *abhī*, one I. E. *ebhi*, *obhi*; the other *ambhi* (which should really be *m̐bhi*).

I have seen my article on the Vedic word *vidátha* followed by

² See last, *JAOS.* 41, p. 465.

quite a number of treatments, different from my own, and thoroly divergent among themselves. They are duly registered by Oldenberg, *ZDMG.* 54. 608 ff., where that excellent scholar is himself trying to penetrate the vexing riddle of that word. I still believe, that the way to get at its prose central idea is to consider first passages which are not enveloped in what I have called the Vedic haze. The statement, RV. 10. 85. 26, addressed to a bride as she is about to embark upon her new career as housewife, *vaçinī tvām vidátham á vadāsi*, 'full of authority shalt thou speak to the vidátha,' i. e. 'to the household,' is really the fixed point in any discussion of the word. Oldenberg relegates the passage to an obscure place in a foot-note on p. 611, with the remark, 'dass auch einer Frau gewünscht wird vidátham á vadāsi kann nicht befremden.' Inasmuch as he translates the closely parallel formula, *suvírāso vidátham á vadema*, by 'mögen wir, reich an starken (geistlichen) Kämpfen, Götterverehrung (d. h. götterverehrende Worte) sprechen,' it would seem to me that the words *vaçinī vidátham á vadāsi* in 10. 85. 26 fail totally to conform to this rendering, which of itself is quite fanciful. I wish Oldenberg had really translated the passage, adjusting 'Götterverehrung' to *vaçinī*. Oldenberg derives *vidátha* from the root *vidh* 'revere,' in support of which he cites much alliterative matter in which figures the root *vidh*, among others *vedhás* which he does not connect with Avestan *vazdanh*.³ I do not believe that this proves anything more than that the *vidátha* is conceived by the poet very largely (as I have shown) as the pious, sacrificial household (*vidáthe yájadhyāi*, 3. 1. 1); naturally parallels and alliterations abound in which occur the root *vidh* as well as other words for revering, sacrificing, etc.

Geldner, *ZDMG.* 52, p. 751, remarks that the difference between *yajñá* and *vidátha* is that *yajñá* represents the action (of sacrificing), but *vidátha* the acting persons. But it is easy to see that the *yajñá* takes place *in the vidátha*. The word occurs prevailingly in the locative (*vidáthe*, *vidátheṣu*); the nominative is scarcely known.⁴ Of course the word has developed: as we say 'there is church twice to-day,' so *vidátha* has come to mean sacrifice in the

³ He does so, later, in his *Rig-Veda Noten*, to RV. 10. 86. 10, 11, nevertheless continuing to believe in his derivation of *vidátha* from *vidh*.

⁴ See the passages on p. 16 of my article.

vidátha, e. g., tr̥tīye vidáthe or even vidátheṣv áhnām (cf. Oldenberg, l. c. p. 609).

I am using vidátha as an illustration of the need of finding the point at which a Vedic word appears in its sober, prose meaning, we might say, in its deflated meaning. Unfortunately, it is not always possible, as I am sure Neisser has found, to discover the spot where there is no discoloration. Geldner's explanation of akrá as 'horse' has found favor in Neisser's eyes. The word is used of Agni, but in 1. 143. 7, índhāno akró vidátheṣu dīdyat, 'the shining horse kindled in the (sacrificial) households,' stretches our credulity to the breaking point.⁵ Similarly the sober start-point for the interpretation of such words as átka, ápsas, aratí, arká, áyú, etc., tho they are fairly familiar, and sometimes captivately point in a certain direction, is really as yet not clear to the eye; see, e. g., Oldenberg, *RV. Noten* to 8. 45. 5, where the difficulties that beset ápsas appear still to be as glaring as they were before Pischel's article on the subject, *Ved. Stud.* i. 310 ff.

In the following I shall dwell at length on the words arí and arýá which Neisser discusses quite fully under their respective captions. I would call particular attention to his treatment of a part of the word arí on p. 102 (under 2. arí), where he assumes that arí at the head of compounds is = Greek ἀρι-, ἐρι-. It will appear, clearly enough, that at least this idea may be properly eliminated.

The word arí is the *enfant terrible* of Vedic exegesis. Nearly every Vedic scholar has tried his hand at unravelling its derivation (in some cases derivations) and its Protean meanings, and the same scholar has lived to see his work assailed by the scepticism of the rest. The word, all are agreed, has both a good and a bad meaning, but the circumstances of Vedic thought and diction are such, that even this criterion which ought to make a deep rift in the middle of the mass of the word's uses does not really operate in a convincing way. Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* iii. 72 ff., with Neisser's general consent, has set his feet firmly on Yāska's and Sāyaṇa's shoulders, and from this position of vantage makes every occurrence of arí in some way the equivalent of the rich yājamāna, or patron sacrificer. The good meanings of the word need no further comment; the bad meanings come from the fact that the yājamāna may at

⁵ Cf. Ludwig, *Ueber Methode bei Interpretation des R̥gveda*, p. 60.

times be identical with the stingy rich (*revān ādāçuriḥ* 8. 45. 15), or that the same *yájamāna* is looked upon as a competitor for the favor of the gods, i. e., as the patron of an opposing body of sacrificers at the *vihavá*, 'the conflicting call,' as the Veda would say.* Thru such channels the word is assumed to reach the meaning of 'rival'; finally, 'enemy.' It may be indelicate to ask why the words *sūri* and *maghāvan*, not to speak of *yájamāna* itself, do not travel the same road. As early as AV. 13. 1. 29, in a fierce imprecation, addressed to Agni, 'the flesh-devourer' (*kravyād*), *hāntv enān prá dahatv árir yó naḥ pṛtanyāti*, 'let him slay them, burn them away—the enemy who fights us,' the word is removed *toto caelo* from the sphere of the *yájamāna*, and appears in the settled meaning of 'enemy' (*arindama*!) which the word holds thru Hindu time. In AV. 7. 88. 1 (cf. 10. 4. 26) the word *arí* is addressed to a snake, or its poison. So, among the many RV. passages in which *arí* has certainly its bad meaning, *aryāḥ párasyaántarasya táruṣaḥ*, 6. 15. 3 = 10. 115. 5, 'the enemy within and without,' shows the word in an aspect which is scarcely derivable (Geldner, l. c., p. 91) thru the linkage 'reicher, geldprotz, rivale, feind.' He remarks that the *ántara* is the competitor, whereas the *pára* is the real enemy, a construction which seems to me to suffer from over-nicety.

However, even in the midst of the word's uses that are ordinarily construed as benign there is much uncertainty. The word started with the meaning of 'noble,' or 'gentleman.' It, and its close but rare congener *aryá*, are surely of the same stuff as *ārya*, 'noble,' 'Aryan,' that undisputed word which is contrasted with *dāsa* and *dāsyu*. *arí* (*aryá*) is 'gentleman,' 'patron,' *yájamāna*; but it is also 'noble priest,' something like 'high or supervising priest.' Geldner points out that *arí* is frequently contrasted with forms of *viçva* which refer to the commonalty, the *viçaḥ*, *jānāḥ*, *kṛṣṭāyaḥ*, and *carṣaṇāyaḥ*. But he neglects to point out that in two uncommonly clear passages *aryāḥ* (*aryá ā*) is contrasted not with *viçve*, but with *viçve kāravaḥ*, 'all the poets,' which is something very different from *viçve*, in the sense of 'common folk.' The passages are as follows (RV. 6. 45. 33, and 8. 94. 3):

* See *The Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 192, for December, 1906, pp. 1 ff.

tāt sú no víçve aryá á sádā gr̥ṇanti kārāvah,
 bṛbúm sahasradātamaṁ sūrīm sahasrasātamam, 6. 45. 33.
 tāt sú no víçve aryá á sádā gr̥ṇanti kārāvah,
 marútaḥ sómapitaye, 8. 94. 3.

As regards the first of these passages it is part of a *dānastuti*. When a text of that sort says that all the poets up to the *arī* praise *Bṛbu*, a most generous bestower of gifts, then the *arī* would seem to be one of these poets, presumably the leading, or the superior, or the guiding one, primarily 'His Reverence.' I do not see how one can avoid the conclusion that *arī* and *sūrī* are here in contrast with one another. That the *arī* should be here a rich patron on the one hand, or a stingy person on the other, is quite out of the question.⁷

Neisser, p. 102, as all interpreters before him, is deeply intrigued by the word *aridhāyas*, which he would render by 'reichlich milch-
 end.' His entire treatment of 2. *arī*- on that page seems to me to suffer from the failure to recognize that *arī* has the meaning here suggested. The word occurs in a *dānastuti* stanza, 1. 126. 5:

pūrvām ānu prāyatim ā dade vas
 trīn yuktān aṣṭāv aridhāyaso gāḥ,

Geldner, p. 80, renders, 'after the first presentation I received for you three (wagons) with spans, and eight cows which nourish a rich man.' And he remarks, in that spicy, keenly visualized way of his, 'since the rich man naturally makes much greater demands, *aridhāyās* became honorific epithet of an abundantly yielding cow.' This is all too twisted and round-about: *aridhāyās* means simply, 'nourishing the *arī*-priest'; the cows given in a *dānastuti* are, of course, counted upon to satisfy the priests of whom the *arī*-priest is mentioned κατ' ἐξοχήν. I may ask, is there really any chance for another construction?

The expression *aridhāyaso gāḥ* is in inverted contrast with *ágor ariḥ*, the *arī*-priest of him that gives no cow, or, the *arī*-priest who

⁷ Oldenberg, *ZDMG.* 54. 175: 'Das singen immerdar unsre Sänger vom Geizigen her (d. h. im Gegensatz zum Geizigen, mit dem Vorrang gegenüber dem Geizigen): den *Bṛbu* u. s. w.' We may ask what a stingy person has to do with *Bṛbu*'s liberality?

operates for one that is poor or stingy, in 8. 2. 14. In stanza 13 of the same hymn a priest says,

revāñ id revāta stotā syāt tvāvato maghónah.

This, addressed to Indra, means, 'The singer would be rich, (working for) a liberal patron such as thou art (O Indra)!' On the other hand, in the next stanza the arí employed by a poor man is described as inattentive for the opposite reason, namely, that the poor man is not, or cannot be liberal:

ukthám caná çasyámānam ágor arír ā ciketa,
ná gāyatrām gīyāmānam,

'The arí-priest does not take care of the ukthá (Rig-Vedic song), as it is being recited; nor of the gāyatrā (Sāma-Vedic anthem or offertory), as it is being sung, for one who has no cow to give (for a poor man).' Here the arí-priest is obviously a supervisor of the special priests (hótar and udgātár); cf. RV. 10. 71. 11, etc. about which see below, p. 168. Geldner employs this passage as the foundation stone for his unitarian explanation of arí as the rich patron: 'Ein reicher hat noch nie geachtet weder auf das vorge-tragene gedicht, noch auf das gesungene lied des armen.'^a And he remarks that only the rich finds favor (findet gnade) in the eyes of the rich. Thus it was also in India. We may ask, why should the rich man ever pay attention to the sacrifice of the poor? Or why, indeed, should he not pay attention, if he be so minded? It is not his affair; why concern himself with it at all, unless he happens to have some personal reason? When sounded to the bottom there is no real basis for this bright, but 'tendential' interpretation.

There are, next, two passages which contain the expression aryáñ sudāstarāya, meaning obviously, 'for, or in behalf of, him who is very generous to the arí-priest':

1. 184. 1: . . . huvema . . . nāsatyā kúha cit sántāv aryó divó nāpātā sudāstarāya, 'we call the two Nāsatyas, the sons of Dyāus, wherever they may be, in behalf of him who is very generous to the arí-priest.'

^a Bergaigne, *Études*, p. 170, renders, 'Le pauvre n'a cure de réciter un hymne, de chanter un chant, pour celui qui n'a pas de vache.' How near, and yet so far!

And 1. 185. 9: bhūri cid aryāḥ sudāstarāyeṣā mādanta iṣayema devāḥ, 'may we, rejoicing in strength (or food), bring much (good) to him that is very liberal to the arī-priest!' Geldner (p. 75) in both passages renders aryāḥ sudāstarāya by 'dem der noch freigebiger ist als der reiche,'* but this contains an obvious *non sequitur*: the rich man is not necessarily or habitually liberal (e. g. 8. 45. 15, revān ādācūriḥ; or 10. 160. 4, yó revān ná sunóti sómam). That the comparative sudāstara may mean 'very liberal' is evident from the opposite expression, 8. 81. 7, ādācūstarasya védaḥ, 'the property of him that does not give very liberally.' For the genitive government cf. also 1. 27. 2, mīdhvān asmākam. Closely fitting with the preceding is the expression, brávad yáthā na ād arīḥ sudāse, 7. 64. 3, 'in order that the arī-priest may then tell of us to a liberal giver.' Geldner, p. 81, very ingeniously, 'auf dass dann der Patron uns einem (anderen) Freigebigen empfehlen kann.' But the bracketed word 'anderen,' as well as the preceding passages, point the other way. In 7. 92. 4, nitócanāso aryāḥ also seems to mean, 'gladdening the arī-priest'; note the contrast with sūribhiḥ in the same stanza, and cf. for the genitive government háriṇām nitócanā, 8. 25. 23.

We have been moving largely in the sphere of the dānastuti, and we may continue to do so for a while longer. 5. 34. 9:

sahasrasām āgniveṣim grñiṣe
çātrim agna upamām ketúm aryāḥ,

'I praise Çatri . . . who gives a thousand, the highest beacon (the beau-ideal) of the arī-priest,' meaning, of course, that Çatri is an ideal giver; cf. ketúm ubháyasya jantóḥ in 7. 9. 1. Again 8. 19. 36:

ādān me pāurukutsyāḥ pañcāçātām trasādasyur vadhūnām,
mánhiṣṭho aryāḥ satpatīḥ,

'Trasadasyu has given me fifty spans, he the lord, most liberal to the arī-priest.' For the objective genitive after mánhiṣṭha cf. the unquestionable construction in 8. 92. 1, índram . . . mánhiṣṭhaṁ carṣaṇínām, 'Indra most liberal to the people.' In 8. 19. 36 aryāḥ as nominative is intrinsically very doubtful. Next, 5. 33. 9,

* He renders 1. 185. 9, 'recht sehr wollen wir dem, der noch freigebiger ist als der Reiche, gefallen, ihr götter, uns des Lohnes erfreuend.'

sahásrā me cyávatāno dādāna
 ānūkām aryó vápuṣe nārcat,

‘Cyavatāna, who gives a thousand, honored me with a jewel as if for the adornment of an ari-priest.’ In the group nārcat (padap. ná + ārcat) ārcat seems to mean ‘presented as a token of honor’ (Sāyana, prāyachat).¹⁰ vápuṣe is regularly used in the sense of ‘adornment,’ ‘beautification,’ with the genitive of the person adorned (see Grassmann). The dependence of the genitive aryáh upon vápuṣe has here critical value; Geldner, p. 94, who takes aryáh as nominative in his construction of the word as ‘patron,’ leaves vápuṣe in mid-air: ‘Cyavatāna, der Herr (aryáh), der tausend schenkte, verehrte mir einen Schmuck, wie um (mich) schöner zu machen.’ The reader may well pause here and reflect whether it is likely that arí, and not sūrí or maghāvan, should appear in nearly all the preceding passages in the sense of ‘rich patron,’ and whether, on the other hand, it is likely that the person upon whom gifts are bestowed (the ari-priest) should fail to be mentioned at all.

Neisser, p. 102, assumes an adverbial prefix ari = Gr. ἀρι-, ἐπι- for ari-gūrtá, ariṣṭutá, as well as ari-dhāyas (above). One of the passages, 8. 1. 22, contrasts ariṣṭutá with viçvágūrta, and Geldner, thruout his brilliant article, has emphasized the antithesis between arí and viçva (and related expressions). He assumes that this antithesis always refers to ‘rich’ and ‘plebs.’ This is hard on the expression arigūrtáh sūríh, as applied to Varuṇa in 1. 186. 3: ásad yáthā no váruṇaḥ sukīrtír íṣaḥ ca paṛśad arigūrtáh sūríh. Geldner, p. 79, translates, ‘auf dass uns Varuṇa schön gepriesen werde, es spende Lohn der (sogar) von dem Reichen gerühmte Herr.’ Neisser justly takes offence at the collocation of arí and sūrí which according to Geldner mean the same thing (in cases where arí has its benign meaning). The difficulty vanishes as soon as we take ari-gūrtáh to mean ‘praised by the ari-priest’ who is of course, rather than the yájamāna, in the position to furnish ‘praise that delights’ (sukīrtí). Since viçve are directly described as viçve kāravaḥ in 6. 45. 33; 8. 94. 3, the antithesis between ari-priest (high-priest) and ordinary priests (of the hótar, udgātár, adhvaryú variety) is just as well authenticated as the antithesis

¹⁰ See Neisser, p. 110.

between 'rich and plebs.' This applies also to 8. 1. 22, *viçvágūrtah* and *ariṣṭutāh*, and to 1. 61. 9, *viçvágūrtah svarīh*. The word *svārīh*, '(Indra) who is served by a competent *arī*,' seems to me by a sort of *tactus eruditus* to refer not to a *yājamāna* but to a *yājaka*. In general, passages which contain technical words of praise or service seem to me to point in the same direction. Thus the *aryó girāh* in 1. 122. 14; 10. 148. 3, where Geldner (p. 82) is constrained to say, 'the song of the patron is the song ordered by the *yājamāna* and the song sung for him.' This reminds us rather of the court practices of Bhojarāja and others in the Bhojaprabandha and Prabandhacintāmaṇi; it is, as far as otherwise known, not Vedic, nor is it the least bit necessary to resort to the theory of such conditions. Similarly, 7. 8. 1, *indhé rājā sám aryó námo-bhih*, '(Agni), the king, is kindled with the obeisances of the *arī*,' refers ritualistically to a priest, not a *yājamāna*.

In 8. 65, 9, *viçvān aryó vipaçcító 'ti khyas tūyam ā gahi*, Geldner, p. 87, introduces a desolating *asyndeton* in the three first obviously coordinated words, 'alle (auch) des reichen Nebenbuhlers rede-kundigen (Sänger) lass unbeachtet,' etc. He supplies the word 'sänger' which is there in the text, in the accusative plural *aryó* coordinate with the two other words. 'Do not heed all the eloquent (or, inspired) *arī*-priests' etc.! By the same token *viçvān aryāh* in 7. 48. 3 means not, 'alle (auch) die reichen Nebenbuhler' (Geldner, *ibid.*), but all *arī*-priests who are in rivalry for the favor of the gods mentioned in that stanza. Geldner introduces the same kind of *asyndeton* in this article almost countless times. I may cite 10. 20. 4, *aryó viçām gātūr eti*, which he renders (p. 79), 'des reichen Herrn (und auch) der Leute Tageslauf beginnt,' whereas it means, 'the daily sacrificial course of the *arī*'s folk (the priests) starts up'; 10. 89. 3, *jānimāny aryāh*, which he renders, 'die Menschenkinder, (auch) die Reichen' (p. 83), whereas it obviously means the folk of the *arī*. The expression is identical with *aryó jānān* in 5. 33. 2; 6. 20. 1, which he renders (p. 88) 'die (anderen) Leute—auch die Reichen,' whereas it means 'the folk of the *arī*.' It is not always possible to decide which of the three *arī* we have here before us, patron (*yājamāna*), priest, or rival, because the situation at times involves rivalry at the sacrifice. In 1. 81. 9 *jānānām aryó védo ādāḥṣām*, 'the property of impious folk of the *arī*,' is according to Geldner, p. 88, 'das Vermögen der Leute

(auch) des Reichen.’¹¹ Here, as in the parallel expression, 8. 81. 7, *jānānām ādācuṣṭarasya védāḥ*, ‘the property of the folk of the very impious (arí),’ the word *arí* clearly shows its evil meaning.

We may take the frase *viṣvān aryó vipaṣcītaḥ*, which really means the same thing as *viṣvān viprān*, as guarantee that collocations like *vipaṣcīto ’ryó vipaḥ*, 8. 1. 4; or simply, *vipo ’ryāḥ* in 4. 48. 1; 8. 65. 7 refer to *arí*-priests. Geldner, p. 104, translates the long frase, *vipaṣcīto ’ryó vipo jānānām*, in 8. 1. 4, by, ‘die Redekundigen (*vipaṣcīto*) die Reden des reichen Patrons (*aryó vipo*) und der (anderen) Leute.’ It would seem to mean ‘the inspired songs of the folk of the inspired *arí*-priest,’ where *jānānām* represents *viṣvān* in 8. 65. 9, both referring to the priests (*kāravaḥ*) under the supervision or control of the *arí*-priest. Hardly less certainly *āciṣo aryāḥ*, 3. 43. 2; 8. 54. 7; or formulas of the type *johūtram aryāḥ*, 1. 118. 9; *carkṛtyam aryāḥ*, 4. 38. 2, show the *arí*-priest, rather than the *arí*-patron. Cf. with the last AV. 20. 127. 11, *īndraḥ kārúm abūbudhad út tiṣṭha vícara járan, māméd ugrásya carkṛdhi*, ‘Indra has encouraged the *kārú* (poet) . . . , (saying) praise me loudly.’ Here *kārú* reflects the *arí*-priest and *carkṛdhi* transmutes *carkṛtyam*. So also in 1. 9. 10, where the *arí* sings the *sāman*, called *brhát*, our word is naturally to be taken in the sense of *arí*-priest.

I have hinted more than once that the *arí*-priest is some kind of high priest. If we transfuse the formula *viṣve aryá ā . . . grṇanti kāravaḥ* (6. 45. 33; 8. 94. 3) into modern diction, say into the frase, ‘all singers up to Ari sang their parts of the opera perfectly,’ we naturally substitute for Ari, Patti or Caruso. In 6. 25. 7, *asmākāso yé nṛtamāso aryá índra sūráyo dadhiré puró naḥ, sūrí* and *arí* are obviously contrasted, ‘our *Sūris* (patrons) who have placed us, the *Aris* (priests), at the head of the sacrifice.’ Here the *Aris* are *Purohitas*. The striking and much-discussed hymn, RV. 10. 71, is neither a ‘weisheitslied’ nor a mystery hymn of any kind, but a charm to secure proper service at the *bráhma*, the sacrifice in all its aspects. The opening word of the hymn, *brhaspate*, addressed to the ‘Lord of the *bráhma*,’ symbolizes the context of the hymn. Especial emphasis is laid on the proper equipment, coöperation, and diligence of the participants in the sacrifice who

¹¹ Cf. *śaṣvato ādācuṣo gáyasya . . . védāḥ*, 7. 19. 1.

are evidently not always all that they should be (see especially sts. 4-7). The last stanza is a sort of triumphal *coda*, in which the four principal priests are exhibited as being in the perfect practice of their respective activities. Three of them are obviously hótar, udgātár, and adhvaryú; the fourth, mentioned in between udgātár and adhvaryú, is described as, brahmā tvo vádati jātavidyām, 'one as Brahmán speaks his native wisdom.' See the closely related stanza, 10. 107. 6, tám evá řśim tám u brahmānam āhur yajñanyām sāmagam ukthaçāsam, which clearly refers to a supervising brahmán, and may be well compared with 8. 2. 14 (above, p. 163) where it is the arí-priest's business to supervise the ukthá (ukthám . . . çasyámānam) and the sáman (gāyatrām gīyāmānam). This Brahmán recurs elsewhere in the RV.¹² Cf. TS. 7. 3. 1. 4. The uncertainties which surround the word arí forbid us to insist; but it would seem that the word arí, in the sense of 'priest,' lies within the sphere of puróhita and brahmán which two, in their turn, are scarcely differentiated in the early texts.

Neisser does not follow his usual, most laudable method in his treatment of the words adrí and adrivant. He omits to account for his translation of adrivant by 'Herr des Donnerkeils,' whereas he renders adrí itself by 'stone, rock, mountain.' This rendering of adrivant has Sāyaṇa for its sponsor, and has been followed by the Western interpreters (PW., Grassm., etc.) quite unhesitatingly, except that Bergaigne, *Études*, p. 45, proposes, 'habitant de la montagne,' c'est-à-dire 'du ciel,' a subjective, mythological interpretation for which there is no basis. Neither of these translations join the derivative adrivant properly to the primary adrí; certainly adrí does not mean 'donnerkeil.' The long list of occurrences of adrí show it to mean 'rock, mountain,' especially the rock which encloses the cows held captive by the Paṇis; or, yet more frequently, 'press-stone,' with which the soma juice is expressed from the plant. Grassmann cites two instances, out of a total of perhaps a hundred, in which he assumes 'schleuderstein' to be the meaning of the word: Bergaigne has disposed of them otherwise, quite correctly.

That Indra's epithet adrivant does not mean 'Herr des Donner-

¹² See Bloomfield, *SBE*, xlii, pp. lxiv ff.; *The Atharvaveda*, pp. 32 ff.; Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (3d and 4th edition), pp. 379 ff.; Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* ii, 144 ff.

keils' ought to be self-evident, because Indra has quite enough to do to attend to his *vájra*, 'bolt.' That is his peculiar weapon, as is shown by the three charades 8. 29. 2-5, where the habitual weapons of the gods *Tvaṣṭar*, *Indra*, and *Rudra* are key-notes of their character. *Indra* is described, *vájram éko bibharti hásta áhitam, téna vṛtrāṇi jighnate*. How strange would be, *adrím éko bibharti* etc. On the other hand see 1. 165. 4, where *Indra* says unequivocally, *bráhmāṇi me matáyaḥ śám sutásaḥ śúṣma iyarti prábhṛto me adriḥ*, '... the press-stone has been prepared for me.' On the strength of this idea I defined *adrivant* (used almost exclusively of *Indra*) as 'he to whom belongs the press-stone,' in *ZDMG.* 48. 572; *JAOS.* 31. 57. It is quite unnecessary to add the numberless passages in which the press-stones are described as being active in behalf of *Indra*; they show *adrivant* to be a purely ritualistic, totally unmythological epithet of *Indra*, like *ṛjīśin*, 'he to whom belong the soma dregs'; or *ṛcīśama*, 'he for whom the *sāman* is composed on the basis of the *ṛks*' (see below).¹³ A lingering prejudice against ritualistic conceptions in the midst of poetic descriptions of the doings of the gods obscures in such cases appreciation of the true nature of *RV.* poetry, shown particularly in that curious habit of these poets' minds which permits them to deal with (to us) trivial accessories of the ritual as tho they were on a par with the many genuinely poetic conceptions which are aroused in them by their vision of the gods and the cosmos. See, e. g. 1. 164. 34, 35, where a solemn riddle asks the question, *prchāmi tvā páram ántam pṛthivyāḥ*, and the answer is, that the trivial *yédi*, the small elevation used for the fire and the sacrifice utensils, is the highest point of the earth (*iyám védīḥ páro ántaḥ pṛthivyāḥ*).

In a few cases, I regret to say, *Neisser* has refused to accept interpretations which seem to me almost too obvious for further discussion. Or, at least, he has expressed doubts which the just authority of his book will tend to spread. The word *aniṣavyá*, *RV.* 10. 108. 6, certainly means 'unwarlike,' as long as *iṣavyà* means 'warlike,' in unquestionable passages of the *Yajur-Veda*.¹⁴ When,

¹³ We may remember also *dákṣiṇā* 'baksheesh,' as epithet of lovely *Uṣas*, Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, p. 72 ff., where may be found some reflections on the attitude of the Vedic poets towards ritualistic objects and conceptions.

¹⁴ *AJPh.* 38, 11 ff.

in due time, Neisser arrives at the word *asenyá* in the same passage, obviously parallel to *aniṣavyá*, he is constrained to say, 'wahrscheinlich, keinem geschoss ausgesetzt.' But *sénya* means 'warlike' in *indraḥ sényaḥ*, 1. 81. 2; 30. 2, so that there is not a chance that either *aniṣavyá* or *asenyá* mean anything else whatsoever than 'unwarlike.' Similarly, *étagva* means 'bright-rayed,' not merely 'bright.'¹⁵ The curious compound *ukhachíd*, 4. 19. 9, apparently a humorous kenning for *çroná* 'lame' = 'pot-breaker,'¹⁶ simply can not mean 'he whose hip is broken,' because *-chíd* is an active verbal, and who knows how *ukhā* came to be listed as a designation of a part of the body in the *gaṇa* *kroḍādi*? That the word *ārupitam* in 4. 5. 7, *ágre rupá ārupitam*, means 'has ascended,' standing as it does by the side of *rúp* which obviously means 'height,' 'ascent' (cf. *rúho ruroha*, AV. 13. 1. 4; 3. 26; *rohantí rúhaḥ*, MS. 4. 12. 2; 181. 15, etc.), should not be questioned. We have here a back-formation from the causative stem *ropaya*, which is quite as natural as the root *gup* from *gopaya*; see *JAOS.* 27. 74 ff. Especially Oldenberg's warm and elegant polemic against my explanation of *ṛcīṣama*, as 'he for whom the *sāman* is sung upon the *rks*' should not have been indorsed by Neisser in the words, 'dunkles Beiwort Indra's . . . sachlich wie formal nicht wahrscheinlich.' Considering *virāṣāt* for **virāṣāt* and the notorious inclination of the Vedic language towards iambic dipodies, *ṛcīṣama* for **ṛcīṣāma* is axiomatic, rather than to be proved. And I am deterred not at all by the ritualistic nature of the epithet (see above) because it states in set form what is said many times, namely, that the *sāman* is sung particularly for Indra. I would refer the reader to *JAOS.* 21. 50 ff.; *WZKM.* 17. 157 for further information. I hope that Neisser will not follow Oldenberg, and translate *júrya* in the sense 'old man' (note the impossible gerundive formation), in 6. 2. 7, where we must read *ajuryáḥ* (*purīvājuryáḥ* for *purīva júryaḥ*) which exhibits an ordinary epithet of Agni, disguised by quantitative metathesis; cf. *ririṣiṣṭa yúr jánaḥ* for *ririṣiṣṭáyur jánaḥ* in 8. 18. 13; see *Aufsätze, Ernst Kuhn gewidmet*, pp. 211 ff. Without such advances the interpretation of the RV. would indeed seem hopeless.

I add a few scattering remarks: As regards the article *árvan*,

¹⁵ *AJPh.* 17, 427.

¹⁶ *AJPh.* 38, 13 ff.; cf. Hillebrandt, *Lieder des Rig-Veda*, p. 47, note.

there is the stanza AV. 18. 3. 19 with its unconforming expression té árvāṇaḥ kaváya á çṛṇota. Weber¹⁷ would emend árvāṇaḥ to átharvāṇaḥ; Whitney to arvāñcaḥ, both without real base. It seems difficult to apply 'horse' in this connection,¹⁸ and the word seems to throw itself back upon one of its Avestan meanings which crops out in the earlier renderings of the Tübingen school, 'reisiger'; cf. çaktam árvate in 10. 40. 5. See also SV. 1. 435; AÇ. 9. 9. 8; ÇÇ. 16. 17. 6; Vāit. 27. 9, devasya savituḥ save svar-gāṇ (Vāit. svargam) arvanto jayata (AÇ. jayataḥ; Vāit. jayema). Garbe translates Vāit., 'mögen wir reisige die himmelswelt gewinnen.' In RV. 7. 40. 6, mayobhúvo no árvanto ní pāntu, as in the preceding passages, the rendering of árvanto by 'horses,' or 'racers,' seems forced, tho not impossible. The relation also of anarván, which seems to mean 'having no (hostile) árvan to contend against,' needs to be brought into closer contact with Neisser's treatment of árvan, and árvant.—It is hardly likely that ákava means primarily 'nicht gering,' or that kava is the interrogative used pejoratively, because kava occurs in kavatnú (7. 32. 9) prefixed to a suffix without etymological value, and is obviously congeneric with pīyatnú (8. 2. 15). Both words are *ἀπ. λεγ.*, but their meaning is clear enough, 'impious,' 'hateful.' Hence it is safe to connect the Vedic stem with Avestan kava 'blind,' 'impious'; see Meillet in Bergaigne, *Quarante Hymnes*, p. 108, note 6; and cf. Hillebrandt, *Lieder des R̥g-Veda*, p. 146, note 2.—Without doubt anūdhā(ḥ) in 10. 115. 1 receives light from, and throws light upon nodhā(ḥ) in 1. 124. 4, as Grassmann suggests and explains most brilliantly: 'Könnte man es (sc. nodhās) hier = anūdhās setzen und als die Jungfrau fassen, deren Mutterbrust noch nicht entfaltet ist.' . . . He translates correctly, 'Ihr Busen zeigt sich wie der reinen Jungfrau, als zarte Maid enthüllt sie ihre Reize.' Both nodhās and anūdhās, as observes correctly, for the latter word, Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* ii. 97 note, = Classical nagnikā 'girl before menstruation'; cf. *alomikā*, AB. 5. 23. This still leaves open the possibility that nodhās plays upon some characteristic, real or fictitious, of the Rishi of that name; cf. Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*, i. 243; ii. 301.—Whatever may be the meaning of asmṛta-

¹⁷ *SKAWB.* 1896, p. 263 (11 of reprint).

¹⁸ Cf. perhaps RV. 4. 36. 6.

dhru, 10. 61. 4, the derivation of dhru is clear on purely linguistic grounds: dhru belongs to dhvar, dhūrv, 'injure,' both derivatives of a dissyllabic base dharu (I. E. dheru). dhru : dhvar = hru : hvar; cf. dhruti : hruti. See for these relations *PAOS*. vol. 16, pp. clviii ff.; or *BB*. 23. 107 ff. This derivation was seen by the Pet. Lex. and Grassmann, and is accepted by Neisser. As the word is an epithet of the Aq̄vins we may remember their doctorship and render, 'of whom no injury is remembered,' i. e., they cure unfailingly; cf. 1. 181. 1; 10: 39. 3, etc.

I cannot conclude this notice without repeating my thanks to Neisser for his enlightened and utterly devoted labor. His work will be used no less constantly than Grassmann's and I would express the ardent hope that it will be carried to conclusion with the same competence and devotion that characterize every page of its first part.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

Johns Hopkins University.

The Phœnician Origin of Britons, Scots and Anglo-Saxons, discovered by Phœnician and Sumerian inscriptions in Britain, by pre-Roman Briton coins and a mass of new history. By L. A. WADDELL. London: WILLIAMS AND NORGATE, LTD., 1924. xxvi + 450 pp. Price, 15 shillings.

Mr. Waddell, an archæologist of distinction with an impressive series of publications on India and Tibet to his credit, and an ex-professor of Tibetan in London University, has applied years of study to the subject of British origins. He has added Semitic, Egyptian, Hittite, and Sumerian to his Indo-European studies, with especial attention to epigraphy and to artistic representations. He then approached the Newton Stone, so called because it now stands at Newton House in Aberdeenshire, and without difficulty read its two inscriptions, one in an uncertain alphabet and the other in Ogam signs. This stone, it should be stated, is a very ancient monument, which may well be pre-Roman; no two previous scholars have agreed upon its interpretation. What does he find? It is a bilingual inscription. *KaZZi* occurs in one part, *QaSS* in the second or Ogam (minuscules indicate inherent or ligatured char-

acters); this is *Kassi*, the name from which we have the *Kassite* Kings of Babylonia. Then *SSŚĪLOKOYr* and *SIOLLaGGĀ*, or Cilicia; *GYAOLOWONĪ* and *GIOLN*: "the Khilani, or Hitt-ite palace-dweller"; *PoENĪG*: "the Phoenician." But his most important find is *PrWT*, which may possibly be *PrĀT*: this is identical with the *Bharata's* of India, with *br̥hat*, with *pr̥thvī* 'the broad' Mother Earth, with *Brit-ain*, with Latin *Fort-una*, in the Cretain goddess *Brito-martis*, and in many other things. It is true that he disregards the aspiration in two of the Sanskrit words, but what of that? The elements reappear in ever so many British place names, such as *Dun-barton*, *Porton*, *Broad-bury*, *Prittle-well*, *Porteynon*, *Forton*, *Wart-hill*, etc., etc.

The Newton Stone is Mr. Waddell's prize evidence, on which he builds up an amazing historical structure, by accepting the precise historicity of the *Chronicles* of Geoffrey of Monmouth and everything else that has been handed down about early Britain. There is too much even to be summarized adequately; but here are some of his main points. The Indo-Europeans, whom he calls Aryans, were in origin the Sumerians, the Hittites, and the Phoenicians, the last named being the sea-going branch. The Phoenicians made a settlement and partial conquest of Britain about 2800 B. C. The "Brutus the Trojan" of the *Chronicles*, who was really the Peirithoos of Greek legend, came to Britain in 1103 B. C., and conquered Caledonia, thereby giving the start to the story of his slaying the Calydonian boar. These Phoenicians brought with them the sun-worship and Bel-fire rites, of which survivals are to be traced in many places. The *INARA* of Briton coins is identical in name with the Sanskrit *Indra* and St. *Andrew*. But enough: the curious reader must peruse the volume to enjoy it to the full.

This volume represents the chief fruits of a lifetime of study; its author has two more volumes, elaborating the theme, in manuscript, ready for publication. It is an overwhelming pity that he did not publish portions of it as monographs, in technical periodicals, that they might receive proper corrective criticism, which might have directed his unquestionably extensive learning into more valid channels. But unfortunately Mr. Waddell is innocent of the most elementary principles of etymological procedure. He accepts Sumerian as the primitive Indo-European speech, and equates French *mar-di* directly with the Sumerian name *Maru*

(= Mar-duk), p. 354; he takes great pleasure in pointing out how little English *good girl* has changed from its prototype Sumerian *kud gal*, p. 258; he sees in Sumerian *aš* "one" the origin of Greek *ais* (really from **sems*), p. 240. Almost every page reveals examples of these types; an etymologist cannot place any confidence in any of his equations.

But to return to the Newton Stone: I can see how he transliterates the Ogam characters, but not how he deciphered the other, which he calls "Aryan-Phoenician." Comparison with old Phoenician characters will not give his values, though a mixture of carelessly written Phoenician, Greek, and Latin might do so, for all but some of the most important letters.

As I said, it is an overwhelming pity.

ROLAND G. KENT.

Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch. By RALPH BAILEY YEWDALE.
Princeton, N. J.: PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1924.
143 pp. Price \$2.

Of the matters at issue between the Latins and the Greeks in the twelfth century, few were of greater importance than the possession of Antioch. The author of this monograph has done more than set forth the origin of this conflict in a clear and convincing manner: he has brought together the surviving bits of authentic information regarding Bohemond, that highly picturesque son of Robert Guiscard. Born out of the purple, disinherited of everything except the remarkable ability of his Norman progenitors, Bohemond bade fair to outdo the several other Normans who carved out fame and fortune for themselves. The material, as brought together, reveals him as by no means the least interesting of the group, and as possessed, to an unusual degree, of both the good and bad qualities of the Norman strain.

This work was done as a doctoral dissertation and bears the mark of close attention to the scientific technique usual in such a production. It displays, also, unusual insight and judgment, as well as felicity of expression. Perhaps the author allowed his enthusiasm to carry him a bit far in ascribing to Bohemond the project of a vast empire which should include the Greek empire

together with the Latin holdings in Syria. Perhaps, too, he lingers needlessly long upon Chalandon's weakness in regard to the origin of the Latin distrust of Alexius. Probably, as the editor suggests, the author's final revision would have cleared up some points in the text, in which case these two matters of emphasis would doubtless have received attention. That final revision, however, never occurred, owing to the premature death of the author.

All students of the period must acknowledge a debt to Prof. D. C. Munro, who saw this study through the press. The ability displayed in it only sharpens the regret of all at the early closing of so promising a career.

University of Minnesota.

A. C. KREY.

Das orientalische Problem zur Zeit der Entstehung des Türkischen Reiches nach venezianischen Quellen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Beziehungen Venedigs zu Sultan Bajezid I., zu Byzanz, Ungarn und Genua und zum Reiche von Kiptschak (1381-1400). MAX SILBERSCHMIDT. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance. Herausgegeben von WALTER GOETZ: Leipzig und Berlin, 1923. xiii + 206 pp.

This dissertation is apparently only a part of a larger study, as of the third "*Abschnitt*" only the introduction is included; but the first two parts are sufficiently complete in themselves to form a valuable contribution.

The author thinks, and rightly, that the Venetian material has been too much neglected by the writers on this period. For this study he has drawn largely from unpublished documents in the Venetian archives, and this is his special contribution. His work cannot be read intelligently by anyone not already familiar with the main course of events in the last years of the fourteenth century. As he says, "Das Büchlein von G. Bechmann: 'Der Kampf Kaiser Sigmunds gegen die werdende Weltmacht der Osmanen,' das in seiner übermässig zugespitzten Art zur Überprüfung reizt, und der damals eben erschienene zweite Band von Kretschmayrs ausgezeichnete 'Geschichte von Venedig' waren meine Ausgangspunkte."

In the first part Dr. Silberschmidt seeks to prove that the twenty

years included in this study laid the foundation for Venice's great power in Italy in the fifteenth century. He traces the recovery of Venice after the war of Chioggia, its diplomatic relations with Hungary and Genoa, and shows how it profited by the weakness of the latter and the strife for the Hungarian crown. In the second part he discusses Venice's Oriental policy during the last ten years of the century, with especial reference to the Crusade of Nicopolis, 1396.

It is a very complicated period and the narrative attempts to explain Venice's relations with Hungary, Genoa, France, Byzantium, the Turks and the Mongols. There is much that is new and this dissertation necessitates a revision of some of the views held by previous writers, whose mistakes the author cites. His explanation of Venice's new policy toward the Turks is interesting and instructive.

As he says, the Oriental policy of Venice is very hard to interpret. He shows how it wavered and changed and how inconsistent it frequently was. It was thoroughly selfish, as was to be expected. The lack of accurate information about events in the East and the fortunes of the various Venetian colonies hampered the Signory, and the conflicting interests of the citizens caused much vacillation.

The main criticism of this very detailed work is that the author is too much inclined to trace a consistent policy which was the basis for the acts of Venice. If he were more familiar with the conduct of a large legislative body and realized how, swayed by the interests of its individual members, it adopted compromises which commanded a sufficient number of votes, he would be better fitted to interpret the course of action in Venice. In addition the documents need more study than the author has given them. If Dr. Silberschmidt had been able to study the motives of self-interest which actuated the voters and led to the decisions embodied in the documents, it would have been possible for him to explain why Venice followed first one policy, then another. But this will be possible, if ever, only when much more study has been given both to the conditions in Venice and the interests of the various families.

There is a good bibliography; the very full table of contents, covering 6½ pages, supplies in part the lack of an index.

DANA C. MUNRO.

Princeton University.

The Book of Job, a Revised Text and Version. By C. J. BALL, with Preface by C. F. BURNEY. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922. 480 pp.

This exposition of the greatest poem in the Hebrew language—one of the greatest products of literary genius in any language—by a veteran Semitic and Sumerian scholar is in many ways a noteworthy book. One does not need to tell readers of this JOURNAL that the text of Job is corrupt and difficult and that our only instruments for its correction are the ancient versions. Dr. Ball has addressed himself particularly to textual problems, and, with wide linguistic knowledge and great ingenuity, has made noteworthy contributions to the emendation of the text at many points. The reviewer has worked the book through in the original Hebrew and the ancient Versions in his Seminary since the appearance of Ball's Commentary, consulting his work among others on practically every verse, and is glad to bear testimony to the originality and freshness of Ball's suggestions, a considerable number of which seem highly probable. He cannot, however, adopt the enthusiastic language concerning them which Professor Burney employs in his preface for reasons which will presently appear.

On critical questions Ball takes the following positions. He regards the Elihu speeches (cc. 32-37) and the praise of Wisdom in c. 28 as later interpolations, though he seems to find no difficulty in accepting the Behemoth and Leviathan sections in cc. 40, 41 as a part of the original work. With Duhm and Schmidt he regards the poem as composed in stanzas of four lines each, though he apparently thinks that, either because of editorial meddling with the text, or because the poet never fully polished his work, it is impossible to distinguish the stanzas after c. 22. For the earlier part of the book this theory of quatrains is employed as one of the criteria for textual criticism. In the judgment of the reviewer this is a fault. We know too little of Hebrew metres or of Hebrew versification to make theories concerning either of them a basis of textual criticism.

Suggestive as Ball's text-critical and philological work often is, in many cases, when he has emended or reconstructed a passage, one is impressed with the fact that the poet could scarcely have written what Ball thinks he did, because the emendations result

in such unpoetic thoughts and expressions. Whatever else the author of Job was, he was a poet, and we may be sure that he did not write drowsily prosaic lines. This fact condemns not only most of Ball's emendations, but those of many others of us who have ventured to lay unpoetic hands on the text of this masterpiece. We who are devotees of philology are certainly not poets, though some (as, for example, Duhm) are gifted with more poetic insight than others. Of the commentators on Job whose works it has been the fortune of the reviewer to read, Ball's reaches almost the nadir of poetic imagination.

Perhaps the thing that impresses a Hebrew scholar most as he turns over Ball's pages is the large number of Sumerian words with which the notes are besprinkled. Upon consulting the Sumerian Register at the end of the volume, he finds that there are 191 references to citations of Sumerian words in the text, and a number of them call attention to more than one Sumerian word. On looking up some of these references he will probably be astonished at the use to which Sumerian words are sometimes put. Thus on p. 138 the Semitic word רִחַ is derived from the Sumerian RI, RIG; also on p. 278 Ball supposes that the Hebrew צֶרֶחַ comes from a root צֶרַח which has been made up by prefixing a צ to the root רַח, thus צֶרַח, equivalent to סֶרַח and שֶׁרַח, that this ḤAN(KHAN) is weakened from a primitive Asiatic root KAN-(GAN) which we have in the Sumerian GIN, "sweet," "pleasant," in the Chinese *kan*, *kam*, *keiñ*, *kō* "sweet," Japanese, *kyō*, *kom*, "incense." Such philologizing (and the examples might be multiplied) is the concrete fruit of a theory which Dr. Ball has previously advocated in the Hilprecht Anniversary Volume and in the Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. vii. (1915), that all Semitic roots were originally bi-literal like Sumerian roots, and that the tri-literal roots, which now prevail in the great majority of Semitic stems, have been built up from these. To the reviewer this theory is contrary to all probability. He agrees with Brockelmann (*Vergleichende Grammatik*, i, 286) in thinking that Semitic roots were originally tri-consonantal, and that most bi-consonantal Semitic stems can be traced back to tri-literal or consonantal stems. All men are lazy; everywhere words wear down; rarely are they expanded. For this reason we believe the theory un-

tenable and the whole superstructure built upon it, a house of cards.

While many of Dr. Ball's Sumerian derivations are thus to be swept aside, that is not true of all of them. A few rest upon a sound basis. Sumerians and Semites were associated for centuries in Babylonia and each borrowed some words from the other. Thus the Sumerians early borrowed the words *da-ri*, *gan*, and *garra* (Heb. קָרַן) from the Akkadians, while the Akkadians borrowed, for example, 𒀠𒂊𒀭, "joy, pleasure" which became *ḥadu*, and passed over into Hebrew and late Hebrew as חָדָה (see Ball, p. 231). When we find that a root is employed among the Semites by the Hebrews and Akkadians only, and was apparently a good Sumerian word still earlier, it is safe to assume that it is a Sumerian loan-word in these Semitic dialects. If, however, it is a good Semitic root, found in Arabic and the South Semitic as well as the North Semitic dialects, we may, I think, be sure that it did not originate among the Sumerians. Semitic languages are connected with the Hamitic and with Africa. So eminent an authority as Erman believes that Hamitic roots were originally trilateral. The origin of Sumerian is obscure, but from the little which we can now discern, it seems to have affinities with the primitive Asian dialects, survivals of which are still found in the Caucasus. The two belong to different matrices of human speech. Comparisons of the roots of these tongues may fascinate, but it seldom solves any problem.

Notwithstanding all these things, Ball's *Job* is a very useful book for the discriminating scholar; and for such it was written.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

University of Pennsylvania.

The Babylonian Epic of Creation, Restored from the recently recovered Tablets from Aššur; Transcription, Translation and Commentary. By S. LANGDON, M. A. Oxford: CLARENDON PRESS; 1923. Pp. 227, 8vo.

The recovery of the Babylonian Epic of Creation has been a gradual process, and the tablets which give us our present knowledge of the text come from many different Babylonian and Assy-

rian mounds. The last considerable addition to the material came from the site of the ancient city of Ashur and these cuneiform texts were made accessible to scholars in 1919 by Ebeling. This new material supplied the text of what had been previously a large lacuna in Tablet I and the whole text of Tablet VI. Ebeling published in 1921 a German translation on the basis of the new material, and the newly recovered portions were translated into English by Luckenbill and the present reviewer, but, until the appearance of Langdon's book, the whole Epic had not been placed before English readers in consecutive form. This Langdon has now done, embodying in his volume for the reader of today something of the kind of information which L. W. King included a score of years ago in his *Seven Tablets of Creation*.

The book consists of three parts. An Introduction forms the first of these. Here some account is given of earlier editions of the Epic, and of the new texts from Ashur. The author then endeavors to show, mainly from the use of scenes from the Epic in art, that it was composed during the First Dynasty of Babylon between 2225 and 1926 B. C. An analysis of the contents of the Epic follows and this is in turn followed by an attempt to show that the poets of Babylon obtained their motifs for the fight between Marduk and Tiamat from older Sumerian sources—in particular from the story of the fight between Nīnūrta (Ningirsu), the son of Enlil, and the god Zu and other monsters. Considerable space is then given to a discussion of the mysteries of the New Year celebration at Babylon and the probable connection of these mysteries with the Epic. A transliteration and translation of a commentary on a text which recorded the death and resurrection of Bel Marduk—a text previously published by Zimmern—is then given, together with transliterations of two tablets from Nineveh in the British Museum which, though mere fragments, seem to be of a similar character. The author then discusses the probability that the Persian Sakia festival was an adaptation of these Babylonian mysteries. A table of the tablets on which the edition is based, together with a list of the books in which they are published, concludes the introduction. Part II is occupied with a transliteration and translation of the Epic, the translation being copiously annotated. Part III is devoted to Addenda. Here

are given some corrections from tablets published in Heft viii of Ebeling's *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*; also a discussion of "La Passion du Dieu Lillu" published by Thureau-Dangin in vol. XIX of the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, and its possible connection with the myth of the death and resurrection of Marduk.

By the publication of this material Langdon has made all scholars his debtors. Assyriology is so vast and complicated a field and is also a field so apart from other subjects that each worker in it is apt to develop certain theories which color all that he says. It often happens that his colleagues do not share his theories and, as a consequence, speak ungenerously of all that he does. This foible of scholars is unfortunate. It is only by thankfully taking what each can contribute and carefully distinguishing theory from fact, that advances in the discovery of truth can be made. It is in that spirit that the reviewer welcomes this book.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

University of Pennsylvania.

Gibeon. Von LIZ. ARVID BRUNO, Rektor des Ateneums in Stockholm. Leipzig, DEICHERT, 1923. vii + 152 pp.

In this work we have a curious attempt to combine the methods of Dalman in Palestinian topography and of Sellin in historical reconstruction. Oil and water do not mix, unfortunately for our author. Bruno's book is by no means without value, and he has made a number of really good points. Thus, for example, he has argued the existence of an important road southward from Ephraim past Jerusalem by way of Gibeon from a number of Old Testament passages. The road still exists, and is, for half the distance (especially from Rāmallāh to south of ej-Jīb) really excellent; the reviewer has elsewhere maintained its antiquity and importance for Old Testament history. On the other hand, the present road southward along the top of the watershed is equally well attested, and Bruno's effort to discard it entirely is contradicted by the most elementary facts of the physiography of Central Palestine.

Industry and originality are not sufficient for topographical studies; one must also be at home in archæological and philological facts. Bruno is not at home in either, and so the best intentions

in the world have barely saved his book from the limbo of phantasy into which he justly casts Poels. It is a pity that he has not followed in the wake of his countryman, Sven Linder, whose recent book, *Sauls Gibeah* (in Swedish), is a model of thoroughness and methodical research. Linder examined every site discussed with the most exhaustive care, and came to the only possible conclusion, that the Gibeah of Saul and Benjamin is the modern Tell el-Fûl, as maintained by nearly all recent writers. The excavations of the reviewer at Tell el-Fûl have furnished the needed archæological confirmation (see the *Annual of the American School in Jerusalem*, vol. IV). Bruno's identification of Gibeon with Gibeah is little short of grotesque. His other new identifications are untenable, both philologically and archæologically. The tendency to sling emendations recklessly around is also to be deplored, and the combination of hypothetical historical reconstruction with unsound topography leads to topsy-turvy results.

Yet, as observed, the book has its value, and much of the reasoning, where the author is not hampered by his methods, is very judicious. The reviewer is interested to find Bruno defending two identifications which he also supports: Mizpah = Nebī Şamwîl and Rāmallāh = Ramah of Samuel (Ramathaim). Had the author avoided historical reconstruction and emendation of the text, while paying more attention to archæological data, he might have escaped many of the pitfalls, and produced an excellent book.

W. F. ALBRIGHT.

American School in Jerusalem.

Wie wurde Sichem eine israelitische Stadt? Von Professor Dr. ERNST SELLIN. Leipzig: DEICHERT, 1922. 84 pp.

In this brochure Professor Sellin attacks the fascinating, but difficult problem indicated by the title. It is evidently the result of studies taken up in connection with his excavation of the mound at Balâṭa, two miles east of Nâblus. Unfortunately, it has not proved feasible to continue the work so auspiciously begun there, and much of the material actually found seems to have disappeared during the war. As a result of this unfortunate circumstance, as well as from the partial character of the excavations interrupted by the war, a scientific publication of the discoveries already made has

been impossible. We are, therefore, only able to say that this little mound was occupied during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. It is not even clear whether it is to be identified with Shechem or not. The reviewer must candidly admit that he has shifted ground here several times. There is no difficulty in the way of supposing that the real Shechem lay two miles further west, and that the old mound is completely buried under the accumulated débris of the Roman Neapolis and the Arab Nâblus, just as is the case with ancient Hebron. The mound at Balâta seems very small to represent Canaanite and Israelite Shechem. It is, moreover, probable that Sellin was inclined to shift the historical perspective of his excavations at Balâta by post-dating the strata, just as was done by Watzinger at Jericho, where a characteristic Middle Bronze stratum was ascribed to the Israelites and dated to the beginning of the first millennium, nearly a thousand years too late.

In this absence of adequate archæological material, Sellin has had recourse to the methods of historical reconstruction. In this direction, his study forms the sequel to his earlier *Gilgal*, a really brilliant piece of work, though perhaps carried too far by the author, with the discoverer's enthusiasm. It may be added that the reviewer opposed the contentions of Sellin's *Gilgal* until very recently, and is still unable to follow the author the whole way. Yet Sellin seems to have proved that there was an early shrine of this name at Shechem, which was later confused with the Gilgal near Jericho.

Most of the present brochure is, however, devoted to the analysis of the Abimelech episode, Jud. 9. The methods employed are very suggestive and sometimes brilliant, but still dangerous, since they operate altogether too much with hypothetical reconstruction. In a sense they are even more dangerous than the equally suggestive and original methods of Gressmann, since the latter devotes himself mainly to the folkloristic matter in the Old Testament, where an error in reconstruction will not lead to a false interpretation of history. Sellin emends the text with the utmost freedom, quite unhampered by versions or laws of textual corruption, which are rather binding in their way, as one may conveniently see from Delitzsch's recent collection of illustrations. Moreover, he employs practically the same methods for reconstructing hypothetical *Ursagen* as Gressmann does for the recovery of his *Urmaerchen*,

with results which are applied directly to the reconstruction of history.

Sellin's story has a good plot, and we will not spoil the reader's interest by telling it in advance. He gives us a very fine historical romance, with an unusual suggestive quality. No student of the early history of Palestine can afford to pass it by. The reviewer has read it several times, since its first appearance, and commends it highly to all who would have their historical imagination quickened, for creative history can never be written without imagination.

W. F. ALBRIGHT.

American School in Jerusalem.

The Status of Labor in Ancient Israel. By MAYER SULZBERGER, LL. D. Philadelphia: THE DROPSIE COLLEGE, 1923. Pp. 128.

The death of Judge Sulzberger removed from among the friends of Hebrew learning a generous and enthusiastic supporter of the interests of scholarship. He was an indefatigable student of ancient Hebrew law and had previously published two works on the subject, one on the *Ancient Hebrew Law of Homicide* (1915), and another on *Am-ha-Aretz* (1910). This last of his works undertakes a close study of the scope and content of the words connoting the various classes of labor in the Old Testament. Some very good work is done here in the precise delimitation of terms. But the value of the work in general is much decreased by reason of the fact that Judge Sulzberger, in this as in his other books, takes no account of the findings of modern scholarship as to the chronological order of the development of Hebrew literature. Consequently, no real history of the status of labor can be given by him. Not only so, but he takes every statement at its face value and makes no effort to discover whether the writer is describing actual conditions of life as they were in his day or is writing in an unreal and imaginary way of conditions that he never saw and that never were on land or sea. Still another *desideratum* is that any study of labor in Israel should take account of contemporary practice among other peoples of the same general region. We now have not only the code of law drawn by Hammurabi's orders, but also a Hittite Code and an Assyrian Code. These have

much to offer by way of comparison and illumination for the elucidation and evaluation of Hebrew practice. For what he has done, we may well be grateful. It shows the keen discernment of a great jurist who, in the midst of his pressing professional duties, kept alive and vigorous a genuine and scholarly interest in the life and thought of his ancient forebears.

J. M. POWIS SMITH.

University of Chicago.

Mélanges d'histoire et de géographie orientales. HENRI CORDIER.
4 volumes. Paris: MAISONNEUVE, 1914-1923.

These four volumes present in attractive appearance the collected essays of the renowned and meritorious scholar, which were scattered over numerous journals from about 1880; and we are pleased to see them conveniently united under one cover. In turning over the leaves of these volumes we greet many an old friend again and are glad to renew his acquaintance, but also meet old articles which are new to us, as, for instance, the Relations of Great Britain to Burma, the Expulsion of Huc and Gabet from Tibet, or the French on the Liu-kiu Islands. In accordance with the author's wide and varied interests, his articles are biographical, geographical, historical, and bibliographical. Cordier is an adherent of the documentary method, and many of his articles consist of an exact reprint of letters and other documents. The two essays entitled "Les Fouilles en Asie centrale" convey a clear idea of the archaeological discoveries made in Central Asia.

B. LAUFER.

The Karen People of Burma: a Study in Anthropology and Ethnology. HARRY IGNATIUS MARSHALL. The Ohio State University Bulletin, Vol. 26, No. 13. Contributions in History and Political Science, No. 8. Columbus, 1922. 330 pp.

Mr. Marshall is a member of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, which for nearly a century has been active among the Karen with an unprecedented success. He has presented us with a very useful book which gives a clear, vivid and almost com-

prehensive exposition of Karen life and thought, founded both on personal experience with the people and a digest of the available literature. In the first part he deals with the tribal distribution and origin of the Karen, their physical, mental, and moral characteristics, language, dress and ornaments, measures of time and space, and astronomy. The second part is concerned with domestic life, the house, food and its preparation, agricultural pursuits, hunting and fishing, spinning, dyeing, and weaving, mat-making and basketry, and a discussion of the famous bronze drums. Under the heading "social life," social conditions in general, laws, warfare, music and dancing, as well as customs connected with birth, marriage, and funerals are treated. In part IV the author discusses religious conceptions, mythology, sacrifices, feasts and cults, magic, divination, and taboos; and in part V, the growth of Christianity among the people and progress of the Karen race. A glossary of Karen words and a bibliography are appended.

Mr. Marshall's book has not the quality of Mrs. Milne's calm objectivity and restraint; he compares, reflects, and speculates, and not always happily. He thinks, for instance, that the use of bronze drums on the part of the Karen has a bearing on their racial relationship, although the Karen do not even manufacture them, but purchase them of the Shan. No culture element has anything to do with or sheds any light on racial or physical relationship. Nor is it correct, as stated on p. 115, that these drums are scattered through a vast area extending from Mongolia on the north; they do not occur anywhere in northern China, let alone Mongolia, except that in recent times they were imitated in Shan-tung Province, the high seat of the forging industry. The drums are distributed from the island of Hai-nan in the east throughout southern China as far as Se-ch'wan among the non-Chinese aboriginal tribes; it is not proved either that their origin is to be sought for in Camboja. The author (p. 15) emphasizes the similarity and physical characteristics of the Karen with some of the tribes of the Philippine Islands and certain Malays. "These similarities suggest," he concludes, "that most of these tribes are not far removed from one another, and that they all belong to the Indo-Chinese stock, which, in turn, resembles the South China type, due no doubt to a common ancestry in the remote past." These coincidences are rather to be explained by historical factors: the original home of the Malayan

group was on the mainland of south-eastern Asia, and the primeval Malayan culture type was developed in close contact with the continental cultures of eastern Asia; but before jumping at such hasty conclusions as offered by Marshall we require much more profound research, above all, an accurate and complete description of the hundreds of tribes inhabiting this territory and a minute critical study of all culture components based on comparative and historical methods, that will ultimately result in a reconstruction of the primeval culture type. Incidental and sporadic comparisons do not lead us anywhere.

The volume is profusely illustrated, and the photographs have been well chosen and reproduced.

B. LAUFER.

Field Museum, Chicago.

The Home of an Eastern Clan. A study of the Palaungs of the Shan States. Mrs. LESLIE MILNE. Oxford: CLARENDON Press, 1924. 428 pp., 20 plates.

The Palaung belong to the Mon-Khmer group of south-eastern Asia. Mrs. Milne's book is chiefly concerned with the Ka-tur tribe living in or near Namhsan, the capital of Tawng-peng, which is nominally a Shan state, but is governed by a Palaung chief, and inhabited almost entirely by Palaung. In 1921 the author published an Elementary Palaung Grammar at the same press, and the publication of a dictionary of the language is promised. Her present work is the result of a serious study of the language; nearly all information given on the customs of the people and numerous folk-tales and songs were recited to her by the Palaung themselves and recorded from dictation. In this manner she has been enabled to draw a complete picture of the life-cycle of boys and girls, customs at birth, marriage, and funerals, home and village life, religious conceptions and folk-lore. The book is written in a spirit of sympathy with this simple, gentle, peace-loving, and hard-working people.

Being entirely free from theoretical discussion and speculation, this record presents a fundamental source-book and a collection of first-hand documents which will be of greatest service to the future ethnographer or culture-historian of south-eastern Asia.

I hope to make good use of the excellent material here offered in several future articles.

Buddhism was introduced among the Palaung from Burma only as late as about 1782, but despite its tardy appearance has obtained a firm footing among the people. At the present it is the acknowledged religion, but it is quite possible to be a good Buddhist without giving up spirit-worship. The monks teach the people the Buddhist commandments, but a great latitude of opinion is permitted to individuals in matters of faith. The belief that after a man's death his spirit forsakes his body and seeks another habitation is held by all Palaung, even by those who are little more than spirit-worshippers. There is no judge of spirits after death. The spirit is its own judge; when it leaves the body at the time of death, it knows exactly what it deserves in its next existence. The girls learn Buddhism at home, the boys study the Buddhist teachings in the monasteries, acquiring also a superficial knowledge of Pali, Burmese, and Shan. The monks make their initial studies in native monasteries and then spend months or even years in the monasteries of Rangoon and Mandalay. Many monks also make pilgrimages to the sacred places of India and Ceylon. In every village, at the highest part of the hill, stands a Buddhist temple and monastery, surrounded by a large unpaved court. There may also be a pagoda, built of brick or stone, much in the style of the pagodas of Burma. On the edge of the platform is a house for the nuns, which the village women sometimes visit to spend quiet days. There too are the rest-houses built by the villagers for the free use of travelers or strangers; at festivals they are also used by the men of the village, should they wish to pass some time in prayer and reading the Buddhist scriptures, or in listening to the reading of others, undisturbed by home life and worldly distractions. One of the chief principles of Buddhism that the Palaung have accepted, and that has profoundly influenced them, is the supreme importance of charity (that is, alms-giving). They hold the belief that charity is the greatest of virtues and that any very charitable person will acquire much merit. Charity should be shown by readiness to give away without regret anything that one has. The story of Vessantara appeals to them very powerfully. The temples, less ornate than those of Burma, are strongly built of wood, generally teak, and contain many images of wood or white

marble of Gautama Buddha brought with considerable difficulty from Mandalay. Representations of any other Buddhas are said to be unknown. Those who worship in the image-house buy gold-leaf and spread it over the images, so that in time they appear to be made of solid gold. The monks are always spoken of with much respect, and people ask their advice and counsel in many disputes. The author gives a very interesting description of the life of a Palaung nun. Cosmogony and folk-tales of which several good examples are recorded, seem to be largely influenced by Buddhism or interwoven with Indian motives. A list of dream-omens and a collection of proverbs and riddles are also given.

It is interesting to find among the Palaung divination from the calls of a crow according to the points of the compass, as, e. g., "if a crow caws to the east of the house, many friends are coming; if to the south-east, your parents, a wise man, or a monk will come; if the crow perches to the south and caws, your wife is making a good curry," etc. As formerly shown by me (*T'oung Pao*, 1914), this system of divination was in vogue in ancient India, Tibet, and China.

There is a curious feature about Palaung women: as soon as married, they are inclined to add years to their age. The older a person becomes, the greater is the respect that is paid to him or to her. The young women are expected to do a great deal of hard work along with the girls, such as bringing wood and water to the village before any festival; so married women are a little inclined to make out that they are older than they really are, in order that they may evade the extra work.

B. LAUFER.

Field Museum, Chicago.

Im Stromgebiet des Irrawaddy, Birma und seine Frauenwelt.

LUCIAN and CHRISTINE SCHERMAN. München-Neubiberg:
O. SCHLOSS, 1922. 132 pp.; 65 illustrations from photographs
of the authors.

The book of Mr. and Mrs. Scherman, who travelled and collected in Burma in 1910-11, in many respects supplements felicitously the preceding works of Milne and Marshall. Their account deals

with the Burmese, Shan, Palaung, Karen, Kachin, Chin, Naga, and Lisu, and gives a very clear exposition, supported by good illustrations, of women's dress, weavings and their ornaments, which exhibit a wide range of variation in this medley of diversified tribes and which are sometimes connected with legends of origin. The volume, although intended for the general public, is very instructive, as Dr. Scherman gives an abstract of the political history of each tribe and endeavors to trace the degree of influence exerted upon it by Buddhism. It contains a great deal of novel information based upon personal observations of the authors. It is of special importance to one interested in the development of costume, fabrics, and textile designs. The authors briefly indicate many attractive problems which it is hoped will be taken up by them in greater detail in future monographs; thus, for instance, the origin of the Burmese tapestries and Acheik patterns which were imitated at the Burmese court by an Italian, Denegri, about 1870, for exportation to Europe. This art industry not being known in India, the authors are inclined to trace it to China, while China, on her part, may have borrowed it from Anterior Asia (I would assume, from Persia, cf. *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 488 *et seq.*). There is an interesting description with illustrations of paper-manufacture by the Shan (p. 63) with an outlook on the discoveries of ancient papers in Turkestan. As I observed the making of paper in Tibet, I can confirm the opinion that the Shan and Tibetan processes are identical. As to paper money, we have older notes now than the one of the Ming period in the British Museum (p. 67). In a mass of Tibetan and Si-hia manuscripts from Karakhoto kindly loaned to me by Sir Aurel Stein there is a paper bill of the Yüan dynasty. The Polynesian tapa has nothing to do with paper and printing, it is made from the bark of a *Broussonetia* which is simply beaten out, but no pulp is prepared as in the manufacture of paper. The Kachin, Naga, and Karen have a tradition concerning a former system of writing among them which was lost through some accident. Dr. Scherman points out an analogous tradition among the Dayak of Borneo and discusses the question as to whether it may claim some degree of historicity, whether it is merely prompted by the desire to explain the absence of a script or whether it may be due to diffusion from tribe to tribe. Such explanatory legends arise easily wherever illiterate

peoples come in contact with literary nations: in 1899 I recorded a very similar story among the Ainu of Saghalin who pretend that their ancient books became lost in a storm when their ancestors drifted in a boat at sea. There is assuredly no historical contact between the Ainu and Borneo or Burma. The relevant stories of the tribes of Burma, moreover, bear a rather modern imprint. An appendix contains two women songs, one of the Palaung and another of the Shan, with musical notations due to K. Huber. The volume is dedicated to F. W. Thomas.

B. LAUFER.

Field Museum, Chicago.

MINOR NOTICES

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. New Series. Edited by DR. V. S. SUKTHANKAR and Prof. SHAIKH ABDUL KADIR. Vol. 1, No. 1. April, 1925. Bombay: published by the Society. (London agent, A. Probsthain.)

This ancient and honorable Journal now begins a new career, under competent management and with new and improved format and make-up. The first number includes two of Dr. Sukthankar's "Studies in Bhāsa" (of which the first three were published in our JOURNAL, Vols. 40, 41, and 42), one of which proposes a new and interesting "solution" of the "Bhāsa riddle."

The Bhagavad Gita or Song of the Blessed One. India's Favorite Bible. Interpreted by FRANKLIN EDGERTON. Chicago: OPEN COURT, 1925. 106 pp. Price \$1.

This book is intended primarily for intelligent laymen who desire a general introduction to Hindu religious ideas; but the author hopes that it may be useful also to scholars. The essential unity of the Gītā is assumed, as against Garbe.

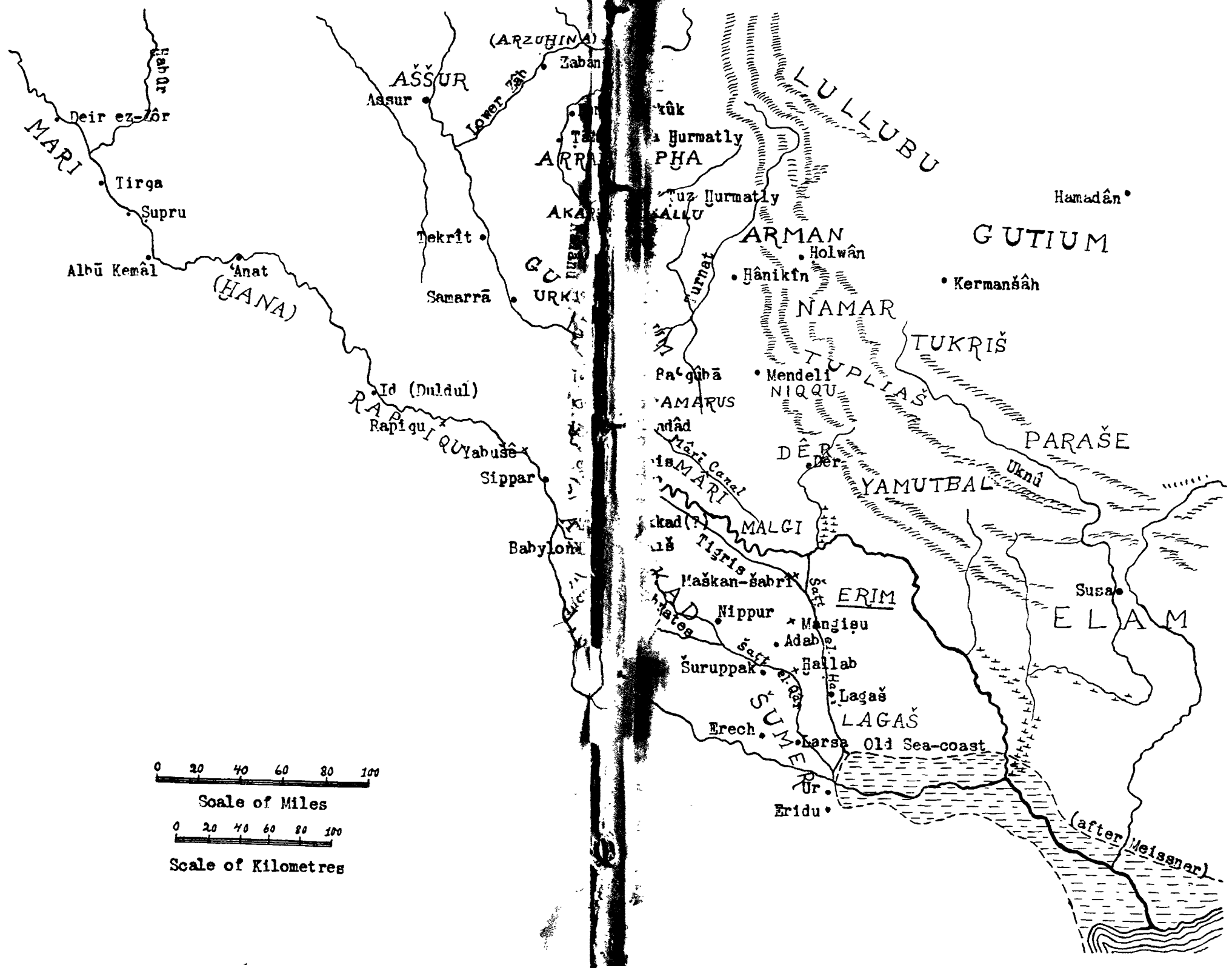
NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

To complete the files of the JOURNAL, it is requested that members send any back numbers which they may not wish to preserve to our publishing agents, the Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

The University College of the University of London will hold its Annual Exhibition of Antiquities from July 2 to July 25, in London, England.

Mr. JAMES R. WARE, Instructor in Latin at Lehigh University, and a student of Sanskrit at the University of Pennsylvania, has been awarded one of the American Field Service Fellowships for French Universities for the year 1925-6, and will study Indic and Chinese Philology in Paris. Attention is called to these useful fellowships; they are administered by the Institute of International Education, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York City, from which further information can be secured.



A BABYLONIAN GEOGRAPHICAL TREATISE ON SARGON OF AKKAD'S EMPIRE

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THE FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE of cuneiform studies for our knowledge of the historical geography of Western Asia is becoming steadily more evident. Recent discoveries in the archives of Hattusas, the capital of the Hittite Empire, are proving so valuable for the reconstruction of early Anatolian history and geography that our interest is being drawn increasingly to Asia Minor. Yet such interesting materials are coming to light in Mesopotamia itself that Asia Minor cannot distract all our attention from the home of Western Asiatic civilization to the culture of its Anatolian offspring.

In this paper we wish to study the most interesting cuneiform geographical text yet discovered, published recently by Schroeder as no. 92 of his *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts* (Leipzig, 1920). During the four years that have elapsed since its initial publication, no translation or commentary has been published, so the present writer ventures to publish his, though fully aware of the pitfalls into which one may stumble in treating so difficult a text. Our document is not, indeed, difficult from a purely philological point of view; the dangers lie in the elucidation of the topographical material, which is in part exceedingly obscure and puzzling. Moreover, the text was copied so often or so carelessly in antiquity that it is very corrupt in places, characters being misunderstood and omitted or dittographed, while transpositions are not infrequent, as will be pointed out in the commentary. Like so many other school texts, it has been copied by scribes who were not able to understand it, copying their source mechanically and inattentively. The close writing of the tablet is responsible for other mistakes.

Despite the fact that no translation of the text has been published, a good deal of attention has been paid to it. Several scholars independently found the mention of Kaptara, or Caphtor, in it;¹ Forrer went on to discover, as he thought, that Spain is

¹ Cf. Sayce, *JRAS* 1921, 443 f., etc.; the writer, *JPOS* I, 191 f. (1921); Forrer in an unpublished lecture delivered about the same time.

actually referred to under the name "Land of Lead."² I have not been able to see the first reports of Forrer's lecture, which I know only from allusions by Sayce, Eisler and others. Forrer's study of our text has had one very curious result. Scholars have quoted his discoveries in total ignorance of the fact that they were derived from this very document, which they have then quoted as independent confirmation, or even as virtual contradiction. Sayce has made this error several times, owing to the fact that Forrer announced the results in question as coming from an inscription of Sargon II of Assyria, about 2180 B. C. (see below), while Sayce himself assigned KAVI³ 92 to the time of Sargon I of Akkad.

In the following pages we will give the transcription and translation, with a full commentary and, finally, a discussion of the historical implications. The text has been transcribed exactly, except for necessary alterations in the signs, where the latter have become corrupt. The transpositions which seem to be required are noted in the commentary and assumed in the translation, which accordingly does not agree exactly with the transcription. While somewhat awkward, this arrangement has appeared more practical than any other. All explanations and defense of the changes will be found in the commentary.

² Or "Land of Tin"; Assyr. *anâku* seems to have designated both "lead" (Lat. *plumbum nigrum*) and "tin" (Lat. *plumbum album*). Since lead became known at an earlier date, at least in Western Asia, and continued in more general use than tin, it is probably referred to; see the discussion of the text, line 41, below.

³ Note the following abbreviations: *AJSL* = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*; *CAH* = *Cambridge Ancient History*; *CT* = *Cuneiform Texts*; *DEP* = *Délégation en Perse*, edited by J. De Morgan; *GA*³ = Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, third edition; *HGT* = Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts* (*Publications of the Babylonian Section, Univ. of Penn. Museum*, vol. V); *HT* = Poebel, *Historical Texts* (*id.*, vol. IV); *JAOS* = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; *JEA* = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*; *JPOS* = *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*; *JRAS* = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*; *JSOR* = *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*; *KAHI* = *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts* (Messerschmidt, Schroeder); *KAVI* = *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts* (Schroeder); *KB* = *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (Schrader); *MVAG* = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*; *OLZ* = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*; *RA* = *Revue d'Assyriologie*; *RB* = *Revue Biblique*; *SAKI* = Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*; *ZA* = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*; *ZDMG* = *Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

1. [- - - - - b]a(?) u(!) mât(!) Ri-du(!) -ni[-i] ša mišir-
 šu mât Me-luḥ-ḥ[a]
 [- - - mât Ḥarsag]-Erin mât Ḥa-nu-ú IX LUGAL-E-NE
 (šarrāni)
 [ištu - - - - -] adī An-za-an^{za-an}(KI) mât Subartu(K[I])

- [- - - - - na-aš] bilti ba-bil igisê^e ana Šarru-gi-na
5. [ana Šarru-gi-na šar] kiššati i bi-lu[man-d]a-ti i bi-lu-šú-nu-ti

- [ištu - - - - -] ša kišad nâr Puratti[adī] Zu-ub-ri mât
 Mà-rí(KI)
 [ištu Zu-ub-ri adī] Ya-bu-še-e mât Ra-pi-qu (KI)
 [ištu - - - - - ad]i M[a-aš-]kan-šarri mât Aš-šur (KI)
 [ḥarrân^{an} nâ]r Idiqlat ù nâr Puratti
10. [ištu - - - ḥ]a-a adī Lu-ub-di mât Ar-rap-ḥa (KI)
 ḥarrân^{an} nâr Za-ba-an e-li-i ù šap-li-i *
 ištu U-ru-na adī(!) Si-nu(?) mât Lul-lu-bi-i (KI)
 ištu S[i-nu(?)] adī [] mât Ar-ma-ni-i (KI)
 ištu [] iz-za-at adī Abul-Adad mât Ak-ka-di-i (KI)
15. ištu Abul-[Adad] adī Ḥa[l-l] a-b[a] mât Gu-ti-um (KI)
 [išt]u Ḥal-la-ba [adī]-mi-lu(?) -ni-i mât Niq-qu (KI)
 [iš]tu Šur-bu ad[ī I]b-rat mât Dêr (KI)
 [i]štu Ib-rat adī []pa(ḥat)-tum mât Lagaš (KI)
 [iš]tu [- -]bi ad[ī] Tâmti nîšê (?) -um-ta (KI)
20. [ištu] Pa()adī Ma-an-g[i]-šu(KI) mât ERIM (KI)
 [i]štu Ḥi-ša-at adī [S]ippar(KI) mât Ak(!)-ka-di-i (KI)
 ištu Tir-ga-an ša Gu-ti-um adī Ū-zar-i-lu-lu mât E-da-ma
 ru-us(KI)
 ištu Ū-zar-i-lu-lu adī Bît-Šin-na mât Mar-ri-i(KI)
 [iš]tu Bît-Šin-na adī Maš-kan-šabrí(KI) mât Ma-al-gi-i(KI)
25. [išt]u (Bît)-Šarru-gi-na(KI) adī Me-e-[- -] mât E-mut-
 ba-lum(KI)
 [i]štu Bît-ḥub-ba(KI) adī Ra-ḥa-bu-ut(KI) mât[]
 [i]štu Bît-GAB-GAL adī E-ri-ya-ba(KI) mât[]
 ištu Dur-gu adī nâr KÚR-RA-KI mât M[u-t]i-a-bal
 ištu Abul-šur-rik-ki adī Dim-t[i] mât Amurrî(KI) ša mišir
 Mà(!)-rí(!)(KI) mât Šú-me-ri(KI)
30. 120 bêrê ši-id-du ištu miḥir nâr Pu-rat-ti adī mišir mât
 Me-luḥ-ḥa Mà(!)-rí(!)

* (KI) has been added in the cuneiform text by vertical dittography.

ša Šarru-gi-na šar kiššati e-nu-ma mât si-ḫi-ip šamê^e ina
 šub-bu-lu uk-ki-ša

NUN-BAL-IB TAR-DAGAL LA-SA-IM-SI-IM

40 bêrê ri-bit mât Parašî (MAR-ḪA-ŠI) (KI)

60 bêrê ri-bit mât Tuk-riš (KI)

35. 90 bêrê ri-bit mât Elamti (KI)

180 bêrê ri-bit mât Akkadî (KI)

120 bêrê ri-bit mât Subartu (KI)

120 bêrê ri-bit mât Ḫal (?) -ši (KI) ištu La-ab-na-nu adî ()

90 bêrê ri-bit mât Lul-lu-bi-i Tu-ruk-ki-i (KI)

40. 90 bêrê ri-bit mât An-za-an^{za-an} (KI)

A-na-kù (KI) Kap-ta-ra (KI) mâtâti ebirti[tâ]mti elîti

Tilmun (KI) Mâ-gan-na (KI) mâtâti ebirti tâmti šaplîti

ù mâtâti ištu šît šamši adî erêb šamši

ša Šarru-gi-na šar kiššati adî III-šu qât-su ik-šú (!) -du

45. ištu An-za-an^{za-an} (KI) adî[]-ri-i (KI) AMAR-[] (KI)
 AMAR-ŠA-TAK (KI)

ištu (!) () -la-bi (KI) adî[- - -] (KI) Lu-lu-bi-e (KI)

Mâ-gan-na (KI)

[B]a (?) -za (KI) [- - - - -] (KI) u mât Ú-du-ni-i (KI)

(ša) mi-šir-šu Me[-luḫ-ḫa (KI)]

It is not clear whether our text forms the obverse or the reverse of the tablet, only one side of which seems to be legible. According to Schroeder it is the obverse, but it must be admitted that it would then start *in medias res*, which hardly seems likely, even if our tablet is only one of a series. On the other hand, the close of our text may easily represent the end of the entire composition, so it is much more likely that it is really the reverse, the obverse being the first half.

Line 1 is unintelligible in Schroeder's copy, and may easily have been unintelligible or at least puzzling to the native scribe to whom we owe our text. Eisler (*JRAS* 1923, 180, n. 1), following a hint of Forrer, has attempted to read this line, but has wisely refrained from giving the source of his "translation." He thinks that Schroeder's AN-XVII-RI should be read *titurri*, "bridges," while ša ZAG-BI mât Me-luḫ-ḫa is resolved into *šikittu pûti ḫarran^{mat} Meluḫḫa*, supposed to mean "frontier structure for the road of the land Meluḫa" (!). Eisler refers to the rendering in such a way as to imply that Forrer is responsible for this nonsense, which

is, of course, impossible, since the latter is one of the ablest Assyriologists of the day. The true reading of line 1 becomes evident as soon as it is carefully compared with the last line of our text, and requires no further elucidation in detail, except for the first sign of the name *Ri-du-ni-i*, which appears as *U-du-ni-i* in the last line. Since Schroeder indicates that both *ri* and *ú* are clear, we shall probably be forced to assume an ancient scribal error. Not having a clear context here, we will postpone the consideration of the geographical terms in line 1 until we come to lines 30 and 47.

From line 2 it becomes evident that we have in the first two lines a list of countries whose kings were conquered by Sargon. The names preserved in these two lines seem to be all from the west, as we shall see. The Cedar Mountain (*Ħarsag-Erin*, as we should certainly read here) is in all probability to be identified with the Amanus range, called *Ām-a-num ħarsag erin* by Gudea.⁵ In Sargon's own inscriptions, the *Ħarsag-Erin* is mentioned under the name *tir-^{is}erin*, "Cedar Forest,"⁶ but Ibla, which he is said in the same connection to have conquered, probably was situated in the Amanus region, according to the well-known passage in the Gudea texts locating the city of Ursu in the mountains of Ibla.⁷

⁵ Statue B, col. V, 28; cf. Landsberger, *ZA* XXXV (cited as Landsberger), 233, n. 7.

⁶ Cf. *JSOR* VII, 18 f., on the cedar forest in the Gilgames Epic.

⁷ Uršu and Ibla were identified with Rhosus-Arsūs and Pieria, on the North-Syrian coast, between Antioch and Alexandretta, by Jensen, many years ago (*ZAX*, 360 f.). Ibla is probably the *Ibr* of the Tuthmosis List, no. 306, but Uršu is probably not identical with any of the similar Asiatic names mentioned in the Egyptian monuments of the New Empire (contrast Sayce, *JEA* VI, 296) since it was apparently destroyed by the Hittites early in their career. During the third millennium Uršu was one of the most important trading-stations of the Accadians (cf. Lewy, *OLZ* XXVI, 537, and especially Landsberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 235 f.). The Hittite war against it forms the theme of an epic composition written apparently in Accadian, in which a fragment published by Figulla and Weidner, *KBo* I, no. 11, is written. The writer hopes to publish a translation and discussion of this important text soon, so it need not be discussed here. Among the towns mentioned in connection with Uršu are Halab-Aleppo, Carchemish and Ašihu. The latter is very interesting, since it is evidently identical with the Assyrian Ašihu (pronounced *Aših*) of Izalla, north of Harran (Johns, *Assy. Deeds and Documents*, 742, V, 33). This combination might be taken as an additional support of Landsberger's view that Ibla was situated in the region of Mardin, while Uršu corre-

Iskipte, king of *Harsag-Erin* in the time of *Narâm-Šin*, according to the new Hittite version of the history of this monarch,⁸ may thus have ruled in Ibla, or even in Ursu. The country mentioned immediately after *mât Harsag-Erin*, *mât Hanû*, is obscure, since it can hardly be identified with *Hana* on the Middle Euphrates, which is not otherwise found in texts known to be older than the second millennium. *Hanû* may be a land in southeastern Asia Minor.

With the third line we find ourselves suddenly introduced to the characteristic style of our text, which locates districts and countries mentioned in the Sargon inscriptions by giving their extreme boundaries. Subartu is thus said to extend from an unknown place in the west to Anzan in the east. The writing *An-za-an-za-an* is presumably a resolution of the archaic writing *AN-DU-AN^{za-an}*, of a type frequently found in glossed school texts of the third millennium. The scribe who modernized the orthography of our document at one stage of its long history knew that *AN-DU-AN* = *An-za-an*, but did not realize that the following *za-an*, originally written in smaller characters above the line, was only a gloss giving the true pronunciation of the group. Anzan or Anšan was used in the Neo-Babylonian period as an archaic designation of Persis, southeast of Elam, but has generally been believed to represent Media or, at all events, northern Elam. Poebel is, however, unquestionably correct in locating Anšan south of Elam, on the basis of an inscription of Maništusu, where we read: "Maništusu, king of Kiš, when he smote Anšan and Šurihum,⁹ crossing the Lower Sea in ships ("genitive absolute"), and thirty-two kings of the lands beyond the sea gathered for battle, (then) he defeated them, and smote their cities."¹⁰ Šurihum need not

sponds to Osroe-Edessa, but this localization seems impossible, since Uršu can hardly be separated from the Assyrian Urrus (pronounce *Uruš*, or the like) in Unqi-Amq (region of Antioch), which Forrer (*Provinzeinteilung*, p. 57) has identified happily with Rhosus. There is no difficulty in the way of supposing that the town had been rebuilt before the Assyrian period, though it never again regained its early importance. Since these questions will be considered elsewhere in detail, we need not dwell on them further.

⁸ Forrer, *Die Boghazköi Texte in Umschrift*, II, 1, no. 3.

⁹ Written in genitive *Šu-ri-ḫi-im*. Poebel, *HT* 205, n. 2, suggests the reading *Širiḫum* because of the variant *IGI-ri-ḫi-im*. The exact pronunciation is in any case doubtful.

¹⁰ *HT* 233 f.

be located so far away as Carmania, however, and Anšan itself is presumably rather the country west of Persepolis than the hinterland where the later Persian state arose.¹¹ It must be admitted that our geographical text seems to employ the name *Anšan* to include the mountainous country east of Elam, which formed the extreme eastern boundary of the region vaguely known as Subartu. Subartu thus refers properly to the East Tigris country north of Babylonia and the Median mountains north of Elam. The view of Landsberger regarding the location of Subartu, reached for different reasons from ours, is quite correct,¹² while the recent revival by Gadd of the localization in northwestern Mesopotamia proves to be wrong.¹³

Lines 4-5 form a separate section, not connected directly with the preceding or following. They are evidently an extract from an epic text, or at least a poetic composition glorifying Sargon, an observation which enables us to interpret our text as a commentary on a Sargon romance resembling the *šar tamḥari* epic.¹⁴ This explains, in part, at least, the remarkably fragmentary character of the composition.

With the new paragraph we take up again the geographical commentary proper, presumably giving the boundaries of the lands which paid regular tribute to Akkad. Line 6 provides us at last with some definite indication of the extent of Mâri in the third millennium. Unfortunately the upper limit of the land of Mâri remains unknown, since the beginning of the line is missing; we know, however, that it was situated on the Euphrates. The lower frontier, toward Rapiqu, is Zubri, i. e., Zubru or Šupru. In his index Schroeder read *âl Ub-ri*, but the determinative for "city" occurs nowhere else in our text, so we should naturally follow Schroeder's own copy and read *Zu-ub-ri* (*Šu-up-ri*). Luckily for us, we are in a position to identify this town exactly, thus deter-

¹¹ The extraordinary persistence of the archaic name *Anzan-Anšan* in Persis suggests that Mesopotamian culture and cuneiform writing took firm root there, and that the Persian cuneiform may turn out, after all, to be a modification of an independent Persian branch of this script.

¹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 228 ff.

¹³ *The Fall of Nineveh*, p. 20.

¹⁴ Cf. Weidner, *Der Zug Sargons von Akkad nach Kleinasien*, Leipzig, 1922; the writer, *JSOR* VII, 1 ff. The second treatment stresses the romantic element in the saga.

mining the location of the land of Mâri once for all. Supru is included in the itineraries of Tukultî-Ninurta II and his son, Ašurnâširapal III, which follow opposite directions, and give the exact place where camp was pitched each night. The route of the father, who marched up the Euphrates, followed the itinerary: Sippar—Salâte—Dûr-balâti—Raḥimme opposite Rapiqu—Kabsite—Dayašeti—Id (modern Hit)—Ḥarbe—Ḥudubilu—Ṣadidâni—Sabirutu (Sabirite)—Sûri and Talbiš (Talmeš)—Anat (capital) of Sûḫi (modern 'Ānah)—Mašqite—Ḥarada—Kailite—Ḥindânu—Nagiâte—Aqarbâni—Supru (camp pitched further on, at Arbâte)—Kaši—Sirqu—Rummunidu near the mouth of the Ḥabûr—Sûri of Bît-ḥadippe, on the Ḥabûr—Usalâ—Dûr-Katlimmu—Qatni, etc.¹⁵ The son, marching downstream along the Ḥabûr and Euphrates, passed Qatni—Dûr-Katlime—Bît-ḥadippe—Sirqu—Supru—Naqarabâni—Ḥindâni—Bît-Ṣabâya opposite Ḥaridu—Anat—Sûru—return.¹⁶ Several of these towns have been identified with their modern equivalents, but we wish here only to locate the stations in the vicinity of Supru. Sirqu corresponds to the older Tirqan, Tirqa or Tirga, identified with Tell 'Išarah on the right bank of the Euphrates, below the mouth of the Ḥabûr.¹⁷ This identification was made by Forrer,¹⁸ and is now proved by KAVI no. 183, 16: *Tir-qa-an* (KI) = *Tirqan* = *Sir-qu ša pân Su-ti*[-i]. Its correctness would follow from the itineraries even without this specific confirmation, which is none the less welcome, however. For the name *Tirqan* cf. the discussion of line 22, given below. Ḥindânu is the Giddan of Isidore Characensis, as noticed long ago, and must be sought in the immediate vicinity of Albū-kemâl. Since it was situated on the right bank of the river, seventeen

¹⁵ Scheil, *Annales de Tukulti-Ninip* II, lines 54 ff.

¹⁶ Ašurnâširapal III, *Annals*, col. iii, 1 ff. The fullest and best discussions of these itineraries are given by Scheil, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 ff., 57 ff.; Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, pp. 101 ff., etc.; Olmstead, *JAOS* 38, 214 ff.; 240 ff.; Horn, *ZA* XXXIV, 128 ff.

¹⁷ For Tirqa = Tell 'Išarah cf. Condamin, *ZA* XXI, 247 ff.; Herzfeld, *RA* XI, 131 ff.; Thureau-Dangin, *OLZ* XI, 193 f. Thureau-Dangin and Dhorme have recently made soundings on the edge of the mound, but the results of their work have not been published.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 15. Assyrian *Sirqu* may be explained as an Assyrianizing of an Aramaic *Tirqā*, since the Assyrians had no *t*, certainly none in an initial position.

hours (*schoeni*) from Asicha = Sirqu¹⁹ and sixteen above Anatho-
 'Anat, we may provisionally locate it at Tell ej-Jabrîyeh, southeast
 of Albû-kemâl, which is nearly equidistant from Tell 'Išârah and
 'Anah. These relative distances are confirmed by the Assyrian
 itineraries, where Tukultî-Ninurta records five and four stations,
 respectively, while Ašurnâsirapal gives three each, counting, of
 course, the camp in the hills between Hindânu and Bît-Šabâya
 (Annals, III, 25). Following the route of Tukultî-Ninurta north-
 ward from Hindânu along the right (Arabian) side of the
 Euphrates, we come in succession to Nagiâte, Aqarbâni-Naqarabâni,
 Šupru, Arbâte, Kaši, Sirqu. Nagiâte was less than a day's journey
 from Hindânu, and may, therefore, correspond to Albû-kemâl,
 while Naqarabâni, a day's journey from the same point, presumably
 is to be found in one of the mounds along the road leading north-
 ward from Albû-kemâl, Tell Madkûk or Tell el-Harîrî. The sug-
 gested identifications with Irzi or el-Werdi overlook the fact that
 the latter are situated on the *left* bank of the river.²⁰ Scheil was
 doubtless correct in identifying Naqarabâni with the Merrhan (not
 Merrha) of Isidore, though his suggested emendation of MEPPAN
 to XEPBAN, or the like, cannot be proved.²¹ The next station,
 Šupru, corresponds to eš-Šâlihîyeh; no other identification is pos-
 sible. Šupru was then probably the original name of the town
 called Dûrâ, "Fortress," by the Syrians in the Roman period, and
 Europus by the Greeks—to be distinguished from Europus-
 Jerâbîs—, since Isidore gives Dura as the station between Merrhan
 and Asicha. Excavations at eš-Šâlihîyeh are now being conducted
 by Cumont, following Breasted's publication of the mural paint-
 ings unearthed there by British officers shortly after the end of
 the war.

After the preceding discussion it is clear that the southern
 boundary of Mâri at the time of the compilation of our text was
 situated at eš-Šâlihîyeh. The extreme view of Horn, that Mâri

¹⁹ The Greek text reads *Εἰτα Ασιχα κώμη*, so we may safely regard the
 initial A of *Ασιχα* as dittography, and read *Σιχα*, probably a mistake for
Συχα. The old view that Sirqu is Circesium is quite impossible.

²⁰ Contrast Clay in *JAOS* 44, 191 ff.

²¹ There is no difficulty in the change of R to B, since this is frequently
 required, e. g., in the LXX, but the initial change would be more difficult.

was situated between Šûhi²² and Babylonia, is proved wrong,²³ and the ordinary view that Mâri is the district about the mouth of the Ḥabûr (so Landsberger)²⁴ is confirmed. Clay's identification of Mâri with the Merrha(n) of Isidore, which has been erroneously located at Irzi or el-Werdi, turns out, after all, to be wrong, since the capital of the district of Mâri cannot have been situated south of the southern boundary of the district; we have just seen that Merrhan = Aqarbarani-Naqarabani was the next station south of Šupru-Dura. Since the suggestion sometimes made, that Mâri is identical with 'Išārah-Tirqa, is impossible, we must look for an identification further up the stream, preferably in the region of Deir ez-Zôr, which must have been an important caravan center at all times. It may be noted that there is still a village called Marrât on the left (Mesopotamian) bank of the Euphrates, about two hours below Deir ez-Zôr, with a large mound, called Tell es-Sinn, overlooking it. Whether this suggestion proves of value or not, it may be stated positively that Mâri must be sought in the immediate vicinity of Deir ez-Zôr.²⁵ The district of Mâri thus corresponds almost exactly to the Assyrian Laqê, which stretched from Mount Bišri (modern Jebel Bišrî), between Ḥalebîyeh and Tibneh, to Ḥindānu. In a new inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I the king claims the conquest of Mâri (written *Ma-a-ri*), Ḥana and Rapiqu,²⁶ just as Ašurnâširapal boasts of subduing Laqê, Šûhi and Rapiqi.²⁷ In the second half of the second millennium we find the same district bearing the name of Aštata in the Hittite inscriptions.²⁸ In the Mattiwaza Treaty the towns of Aḥuna and Tirga are explicitly designated as towns of Aštata on the opposite bank of the Euphrates from Mitanni, i. e., on the right bank, where Tirqa is

²² Written *Šûhi* by the Assyrians, but pronounced, of course, *Šûh*, like the Hebrew *Šûh*.

²³ For Horn's view cf. ZA XXXIV, 140 f.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 234.

²⁵ In Isidore's time the βασιλεια κομόπολις with the Semiramis Canal was situated in the immediate vicinity of Deir ez-Zôr. Seven hours upstream was the station of Θιλλαδα Μιρραδα, whose name is probably corrupt, and may be borne in mind in connection with the search for the site of Mâri.

²⁶ KAH I, no. 60, line 69.

²⁷ Annals, col. II, 128.

²⁸ Cf. Mayer and Garstang, *Index of Hittite Names*, I, p. 8.

known to be from other sources (see above).²⁹ Aḥuna is unknown; it cannot be identified with the *mât* Aḥānu which Ašurnāširapal III passed, leaving it on his left as he marched west from Carchemish to Ḥazaz (modern 'Azaz),³⁰ since the latter is naturally identical with Yaḥan = Bīt-(a)gūsi, the region of Arpad and Aleppo. *Aštata* or *Aštati* elsewhere occurs as the name of a minor state near Carchemish and Aleppo.

This is not the place in which to discuss the materials now available for the history of Mâri, especially since the meager references known have been gathered elsewhere in convenient form.³¹ The fact that Mâri played an important rôle in early history has long been emphasized by Clay. The importance of Mâri in the fourth and early third millennia was presumably due to its strategic position for the caravan trade, at a time when the extensive commerce between Babylonia, Syria and Asia Minor enriched the towns of the Upper Euphrates valley. This naturally led to the intensive development of the agricultural possibilities of the river valley, which, despite its narrowness, emphasized by Breasted and Luckenbill,³² could be thoroughly irrigated by means of dams and canals, the ruins of which are thickly strewn over the whole valley from Deir ez-Zôr to the Babylonian frontier.

Mâri was the connecting link between Syria and Mesopotamia at a crucial period in the development of ancient civilization, and oriented now in the one direction, now in the other. To the Syrians Mâri was naturally a part of Mesopotamia, while to the Babylonians Mâri and Syria were inseparably associated. In fact, it is more than probable that the names *Mâri* and *Amurru* were originally identical, just as maintained by Clay, though our present point of view is quite different from his. The name *Mâri*, *Mêr* or *Mêra*³³ is written ideographically *MA-URU*, "Ship-city,"

²⁹ *KBo* I, no. 1, rev. line 19.

³⁰ *Annals*, col. III, 71.

³¹ Clay, *Empire of the Amorites*, pp. 103 ff.; Breasted and Luckenbill, *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting*, pp. 28 ff. But see n. 86a, below.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 21 f.; contrast Clay, *JAOS* 44, 186 ff., for correction of some rather extreme remarks of his predecessors. As usual, the truth lies between the two extremes.

³³ There were evidently two byforms: *Ma-ri* and *Ma-eri*, *Mêri*. The former is established by the transcription *Ma-a-ri* (see above), while the latter is proved by the writing *Mêra* in the Code of Hammurabi. The

a name found elsewhere in the Tigris-Euphrates valley (cf. on line 23). Now, in the so-called *eme-sal* dialect this name would have to be read *Mà-eri* or *Ma-rí*, i. e., *Maeri*, *Mêri* or *Mâri* (*Ma-a-ri* of Tukulti-Ninurta; cf. above). In the *eme-ku*, however, we should have to pronounce *Mà-uru*, *Mauru* (cf. *Uru* and *Uruk*, etc.), which resembles *Amurru* rather strikingly. The word *Amurru* is always written *MAR-TU* in Sumerian, but as Delitzsch pointed out long ago, *TU* in this word is really *TEgunu*, pronounced *urù*.³⁴ Delitzsch did not see the implications of his suggestion, which is quite certain. The writer collected further proof that *MAR-TU* is really *MAR-URÙ* in his thesis, prepared for publication a number of years ago, but not printed. Here he showed also that the same mistake has been made with regard to the word *a-mà-TU* = *abûbu*, "flood," which is written *a-mà-TEgunu*, i. e., *a-mà-uru*, in the oldest sources. The forms *a-mà-ru* and *a-ma-ru* are not different words, but simply variant spellings, on a par with *Mà-eri* = *Mâ-ri*. The expressions for "flood" and "west" both refer to the Upper Euphrates region, called *Mà-uru* after its chief city. Since the dreaded river-flood came down the Euphrates from its head-waters, it received the name *a-mà-uru*, literally "water of Mâri." The river was also the principal means of communication in the early period, especially up and down the Euphrates, where land travel was endangered by robbers.³⁵ Just as in Egypt, the principal directions were upstream and downstream; upstream, toward Mâri, was called "direction (lit. wind) of Mâri," *im-mar-urù*, Accadian *amurrû*. Since this direction was prevailing west, *im-mar-urù* came to be the word for "west," and *Mar-urù* = *Amurru* became the ordinary expression for the "Westland" in general.³⁶ The objection that the word *mà*, "ship," and the

name of the well-known Euphrataean and Syrian god Mêr or Wêr (Iluwêr), though primarily perhaps a Sumerian name of the weather-god (= Immer), was probably connected secondarily with the name of the city, just as in the case of Ašir and Aššur.

³⁴ *Sum. Gloss.*, p. 51, s. v. *uru*; p. 181, s. v. *mar-tu*.

³⁵ It is true that the Euphrates is not nearly so well adapted as the Nile for upstream traffic, since the current is swifter in the upper part, and there is no analogue to the convenient north wind, which drives the sailing vessel up the Nile. Boats were probably used mainly for downstream traffic.

³⁶ The word *mar-urù* in the sense of *abûbu*, "flood," is probably only an

syllable *mar* are quite distinct is invalid; *mà* is probably a simple reduction of original *mar*, "vehicle," which included both "cart" and "ship," precisely like Arabic *markab*. It is a common-place among Assyriologists that final *r* has been dropped from a multitude of Sumerian stems and words. *Amurru* is accordingly a corruption of *Ma(r)-uru* in the sense of "west, Westland," and developed its use in Babylonia, where the *eme-ku* dialect prevailed, while *Mâri* is later the local pronunciation of the same original word *Ma(r)-uru*, "Ship-city." In this connection it may be observed that Landsberger's attempt to localize Amurru in the East-Tigris country is paradoxical.³⁷ The interchange of titles in Kudur-Mabuk's inscriptions, where we sometimes have "patron (*ad-da* = *abu*) of Emutbal," sometimes "patron of Amurru," proves no more than the similar variation between *šar Akkad*, *šar Kiš* and *šar kibrat arba'im* in the titles of the kings of Akkad does. Similar variations are found innumerable times; the fact that Ḫammurabi is once called "King of Amurru" does not prove that *Amurru* is a different name for Babylon. Landsberger's statement that "die Träger der sog. westsemitischen Personennamen wurden nicht als *mar-tu* 'Amoriter' bezeichnet" is very strange. Would he deny that the names of the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon (*palû Amurrim*) or those of the Amorite list published by Chiera are Western Semitic? Since the present writer hopes to write on this subject at length in the near future we may drop it here.

From Mâri a route down the Euphrates in the third millennium led to the state of Rapiqu, which joined Mâri directly, without any intermediate district—unless one name has dropped out of our text. As a matter of fact, Ḫana, which later separated Mâri from Rapiqu, has not yet been found mentioned in documents known to belong to the third millennium, while Rapiqu appears quite frequently, especially in the date formulae of the Dynasties of Larsa and Babylon.³⁸ The capital, Rapiqu, was often considered in later centuries as forming the northwestern frontier of Akkad, which our text (line 21) locates at Sippar. In this connection it

abbreviation of **a-ma(r)-urû*, but it is valuable as confirming our theory of the original identity of *mâ-urû* and *mar-urû*.

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 236 ff.; also Weidner, *MVAG* XXVI, 43.

³⁸ Contrast Thompson, *CAH* I, 485, 7.

may be observed that the site of the capital of Sargon, the biblical Accad, must be sought farther south than the region of Sippar; in fact, Accad is perhaps to be identified with one of the mounds around Tell el-Oheimir (Kiš), now being excavated by Mackay. According to the itinerary of Tukultî-Ninurta (see above), Rapiqu was situated just half-way between Sippar and Id, that is, Abū Ḥabbah and Hīt, and must, therefore, be sought in the vicinity of the Hubāniyeh lake. While Forrer must be approximately right in placing Rapiqu at the point where the Ṣaqlāwīyeh canal branches off from the Euphrates to the left, there is no suitable point opposite, on the right (Arabian) bank, where Tukultî-Ninurta expressly locates it. Rapiqu must be nearer Ramādī (Qal'at er-Ramādī), perhaps at the neighboring Tell er-Ra'yân, though Ramādī itself or Šeih Mas'ūd are possibilities.

Schroeder's text no. 183, which we have already had occasion to cite, furnishes some interesting data with respect to the cities of Rapiqu in the early period. Landsberger has already called attention to the identification of Duldul-Tutul with Id, given in this text, line 23.³⁹ Since the first step taken by Sargon of Accad in his first northwestern campaign was to prostrate himself before Dagan in the temple of Duldul,⁴⁰ it is evident that the city on the beautiful island of Id was important in pre-Sargonic times, when it developed its own prestige and that of its god. According to the Code of Ḥammurabi Mēra = Māri and Tutul were the most important cities then existing in the Middle Euphrates country. This suggests that Tutul was then the capital of Hana or Rapiqu, however the district between Māri and Akkad may then have been called. In no. 183, line 12, we find the equally interesting entry: [A]-ra-tu = LAM + HI-RU(KI) = *mât Su-u-ḫi*. Of course, the inserted HI is a slight scribal error for KŪR; LAM + KŪR-RU(KI) = Aratta was one of the oldest Babylonian cities, and figures prominently in the Lugal-banda cycle of legends published by Poebel and Langdon.⁴¹ Unfortunately, Langdon has confused LAM + KŪR-RU(KI) with SU-KŪR-RU(KI), Šuruppak, in exactly the same way as the Babylonian scribe of no. 183, line 25,

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 233.

⁴⁰ Cf. now Legrain, *Univ. of Penn. Mus. Jour.*, 1923, p. 210.

⁴¹ Poebel, *HGT*, nos. 8-11 (cf. *JAOS* 40, 312); Langdon, *Oxford Ed. of Cun. Texts*, vol. I, plates 5-9. Chiera will publish important additional material from the Stamboul museum (*AJSL* XL, 262 f.)

where we read $LAM + K\acute{U}R-RU(KI) = \acute{S}u-ri-[ip]-pak$, though $LAM-K\acute{U}R-RU(KI) = Aratta$ is absolutely certain from other passages.⁴² Sayce has also followed our scribe too closely and come to the conclusion that Šuruppak or Šurippak, famous as the home of Ziusuddu, the Sumerian flood-hero, is to be identified with Sûhi, though the true identification with Tell Fâra, north of Erech, has long been known.⁴³ Every "Šuruppak" in Langdon's transcription must be corrected to Aratta. According to this legend the sanctuary (*maštaku*) of Aratta had been destroyed (*ām-dub = maštaku ša uttapišu*, or the like), and was apparently restored by the "holy Lugalbanda."⁴⁴ Who the destroyers were may perhaps be inferred from col. II, 12-3 = III, 36-7: *Ki-en-gi Uri nigin-na-a-ba Mar-urù lù-še-nu-zu ġu-mu-un-zi*, "From Sumer and Akkad in their entirety may he expel the rebellious Westerner (Amorite)." Aratta was then, it would seem, one of the frontier posts of Babylonia toward the west. The identification of Aratta with *mât Sûhi* is a little vague; one would be inclined to identify it with 'Anat, the capital of Sûhi, were it not for the fact that 'Anat is perhaps to be identified with Hana.⁴⁵ In any case, Aratta was situated some distance up the river from Duldul, probably not quite half-way from Duldul to Mâri. Little by little it is be-

⁴² Especially *CT* XI, 49, 34a-b, which equates $SU-K\acute{U}R-RU-KI$ with *Šurupak* and $LAM + K\acute{U}R-RU-KI$ with *Aratta*; cf. Delitzsch, *Sum. Gloss.*, pp. 10 (s. v. *aratta*) and 272 (s. v. *arada*). Confusion between these two similar ideograms also occurs in the first list of antediluvian kings published by Langdon, where $SU-K\acute{U}R-LAM$ is miswritten for $SU-K\acute{U}R-RU$, as independently seen by Dhorme, *RB*, 1924, 546-7, and Zimmern, *ZDMG*, 1924, 21, n. 3. On the other hand neither scholar distinguishes with sufficient clearness between the entirely different cities of Aratta and Šuruppak, which were not even close together, as suggested by Dhorme, if we may believe the evidence of Schroeder, no. 183.

⁴³ *JRAS*, 1924, 114, n. 2.

⁴⁴ The name *Lugalbanda* has generally been read *Lugalmarda* of late, owing to an error of the cuneiform copyist of a text published by Schroeder, where *LUGAL-TUR-DA* and *LUGAL-AMAR-DA* are confused, just as in the case of $SU-K\acute{U}R-RU$ and $LAM + K\acute{U}R-RU$. The older reading has been proved correct by Weidner, *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*, vol. II, p. 14, n. 1.

⁴⁵ This question has been very obscure, but the identification becomes more probable now that Hana is rather definitely equated with Sûhi, whose capital was at 'Anat or in the vicinity. In favor may be cited Clay, *Empire of the Amorites*, pp. 111 ff., and now especially Landsberger, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

coming possible to see that the Middle Euphrates valley played a much more important rôle in the history of Western Asia than hitherto supposed by most scholars; it is the lasting merit of Clay to have pointed this fact out. The oldest civilization of this valley was, however, Sumerian, not Semitic, and the land of the West-erners (Amorites) began from the Babylonian point-of-view with Mâri. For the sake of comparison we may note that the distance from Eridu to 'Anat (or Aratta) is the same as that from Memphis to Hieraconpolis, while that from Eridu to Mâri is about equivalent to Alexandria (or Pelusium)—Elephantine.

The territory of Rapiqu was apparently bounded on the west by Yabušê (line 7 of no. 92), which may be identical with the Yabušum of the bilingual inscription of Samsu-iluna, line 41, which the Babylonian king fortified. The reading *Dûr-yabušum* is unwarranted, and *Dûr-yabugani*⁴⁶ is naturally quite wrong. Yabušê was presumably located at Fallûjah or just below, on the Euphrates.

Having reached the frontier of Babylonia, our text jumps to the northern Tigris valley. Unfortunately, the text of line 8 is damaged, so the limits of Assyria are not clear. The upper limit is entirely missing and the lower limit doubtful. If our reading *Maškan-šarri* is right,⁴⁷ we should presumably locate it a little south of Assur, near the mouth of the lower Zâb. After the excavations at Assur and the revelations of the Cappadocian Tablets, there can be no doubt that the state of Assyria was already in existence in the beginning of the third millennium; its non-occurrence in our fragmentary Babylonian sources of the Akkad Dynasty means nothing, especially since Assur must be included under the general designation Subir, Subartu (see above).

The following line: "the road of the Tigris and Euphrates" is obscure and perhaps is a quotation from the original Sargon romance upon which the compiler of our text is commenting. In the present connection it seems to be a rather awkward way of stating the shift of geographical treatment from the Euphrates to the Tigris. Line 11 similarly seems to indicate that the treatment has moved still farther east to the Zâb rivers, from which the

⁴⁶ CAH I, 557.

⁴⁷ Besides the well-known *Maškan-šabri* (see below) cf. also *Maškan-ilî* in Clay, *Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech*, no. 107, 24.

enumeration, beginning with Arrapha (line 10), is continued southward.

The exact situation of Arrapha still remains doubtful, owing to the location of Arrapachitis too far north by Ptolemy and to Forrer's reaction toward a situation too far south.⁴⁸ It is, however, possible to fix it approximately, thanks to material which was not available when Forrer wrote, as well as to more careful examination of the time-honored translations upon which he relied. Since Forrer's discussion is the fullest recent one, we shall make it the basis of our treatment. We cannot separate the problem of Arrapha from that of Arzuḫina, the Assyrian province north of Arrapha, which Forrer has placed just where we would locate Arrapha. Til-Arzuḫina, presumably the original site of Arzuḫina, he would identify with modern Kerkūk, while Arzuḫina itself lay just opposite; unfortunately, he refers us to a still unpublished topographical study of his for the proof.⁴⁹ Consequently, the Assyrian province of Arzuḫina should correspond to the region immediately south and east of the Lower Zab. Arrapha, which lay still farther to the south, Forrer identifies with Arappa (not with Arrapachitis) of Ptolemy, which was situated on the road from Artemita (Zindân, northeast of Ba'qûbâ) to the Zagros passes northeast of Ḥânikîn, identified by him with Arrapa. The result of this unhappy localization is a general southward shift of districts in the East-Tigris country, a shift which must be corrected before we can clarify the geography of our Sargon text.

Forrer has pointed out himself that the road southward from Arzuḫina passed through Zaban, which must, therefore, have been situated south of Kerkūk, in the region of Tâza-Ḥurmatly on the upper 'Adeim, below Kerkūk, in case his theory regarding the location of Arzuḫina is right. The usual location of Zab(b)an, older Simur(r)um, is at Altyn-Köprü on the Lower Zâb, northwest of Kerkūk.⁵⁰ The mere fact that the name of the town is

⁴⁸ *Provinzeinteilung*, pp. 44 f.

⁴⁹ Forrer's unpublished study is apparently based on the comparison of K 4675, an Assyrian itinerary of the East-Tigris country, with the annals of Ašurnâsirapal III. The comparison has been instituted previously by Peiser, *MVAG* VI, 3, 40 ff., and Olmstead, *JAOS* 38, 230 ff.; the material is somewhat difficult to handle, but does not favor Forrer's localization, so far as we can see (see also below).

⁵⁰ Cf. Meissner, *OLZ*, 1919, 69.

the same as that of the river, though interesting, is naturally not conclusive for a location on it. A passage in the inscription of Šamši-Adad VI, col. IV, 2-3, is really decisive, though Forrer does not seem to have taken the trouble to check the interpretation offered in KB, which he follows with his rendering: "den Zaba-Fluss überschritt ich, stieg zwischen den Städten Zaddi und Zaban über die Rinnsale des Gebirges." The original text, *nâr Zaban êbir ina bîrit Šaddi Zaban attabalkat natbak šadê*, is somewhat ambiguous at first sight, but a little consideration of Assyrian style will convince one that the prepositional phrase *ina bîrit Šaddi Zaban* belongs with the preceding *êbir*, not with the following *attabalkat*. Moreover, one may cross a river between two points, but one does not speak of "traversing the declivities of the mountains" between two towns. We should, therefore, render: "I crossed the river Zâb between Šaddi and Zaban; I traversed the declivities of the mountains." Zaban is then definitely situated on the Lower Zâb, at Altyn Köprü, while Šaddi lay farther down, perhaps in the neighborhood of Madrana. From the statement in the Synchronistic History, col. III, 20 f.,⁶¹ to the effect that Adad-nirârî II of Assyria and Šamaš-mudammîq of Babylon, after the defeat of the latter, fixed the boundary between Assur and Accad along a line running from Til-bari above Zaban (*ša illân Za[ban]*) to Til-ša-Batâni and Til-ša-Zabdâni, no conclusion can be reached, since *illân* is too vague a term and it is not certain that we should read *Zaban*, since the text is broken at this point. At any rate, as Olmstead has pointed out,⁶² it is clear that the Babylonians continued to control the region south of the Lower Zâb, as far as into Zamua, down to the time of Ašurnâširapal III. Since Zaban thus was situated on the Lower Zâb, Arzuḫîna must have been farther north. This is the most natural conclusion also from the itinerary K 4675, which allows three to four days from Arzuḫîna southward via Babite (hardly Bazian here!) to the river 'Aḏeim (*nâr Raddâni*). Arzuḫîna then was situated north of the Lower Zâb, presumably northeast of Zaban. The same conclusion with respect to the district of Arzuḫîna appears to follow from a passage in the Synchronistic History, col. II, 14 ff., where we read that Tiglath-pileser I and Marduk-nâdin-aḫḫê fought a chariot battle *ina elî*

⁶¹ Now republished with corrections in *CT XXXIV*.

⁶² *JAOS* 38, 233, n. 53.

Zaban šupali ina tarši âl Arzuḫina, "On the bank of the Lower Zâb (cf. Delitzsch, HWB 63a) near Arzuḫina." Unfortunately, the exact sense of *ina tarši* here is not certain, so the rendering "opposite Arzuḫina," preferred by Delitzsch (HWB 715a) is not excluded. At all events, this passage proves that Arzuḫina was situated on or very near the Lower Zâb, unquestionably its upper course. The later district of Arzuḫina probably corresponds to the ancient Simurru of the third millennium B. C.

Now that we have located Arzuḫina on the upper course of the Lower Zâb, north of the river, it is only natural to locate Arrapha in the region just south of this river, about the upper course of the 'Adeim. The correctness of this localization may be established from the statements of the Nabopolassar Chronicle, especially obv., 12-13, which relates that a battle was fought between the Assyrians and Babylonians at Madanu in the province of Araphu, and that the former were defeated and driven into the Lower Zâb (*taḫtâšunu ma'adiš iškunû ana nâr Zaban ittadûšunûtu*).⁵³ Obv. 16-23 clearly implies that Arrapha was north of Takrîtain, modern Tekrît, just south of the Jebel Ḥamrîn, which was presumably the southern boundary of the province of Arrapha. The capital, Arrapha, was probably near Kerkûk, perhaps identical with it. This location agrees admirably with all references to Arrapha which I have been able to find, including the record of a campaign waged by an unknown Mesopotamian king of about 2000 B. C. against Urbêl (Arbela), Tabrâ and Arrapha, in the course of which the Zâb (Zâ'ibum) was crossed.⁵⁴

Returning to our geographical text, we note that the territory of Arrapha was considered by the compiler to extend from []ḫa to Lubdu. Lubdu is mentioned a number of times in our Assyrian sources, but cannot be exactly located. Šamšî-Adad VI (col. I, 48 f.) names Zaban, Lubdu, Arrapha, Arba'ilu together, but his list is not in exact geographical order. Adad-nirârî I (KAH I, no. 3, 7 f.) says that he subdued the countries from Lubdi and Rapiqu to Eluḫat. Since Rapiqu is properly the frontier of Babylonia proper on the Euphrates, Lubdu is presumably here the frontier of Babylonia in the East-Tigris country—naturally, the

⁵³ Cf. Dhorme, *RB*, 1924, 228, who has also seen the impossibility of Forrer's location of Arrapha at Hânîkîn and has proposed a more northerly situation.

⁵⁴ De Genouillac, *RA* VII, 151 ff.

extreme southern limit of the boundary, just as in the case of Rapiqu. Adad-nirârî II (KAHI II, no. 84, 28 f.) claims to have conquered Dêr, Arraphu and Lubda, fortresses (*birâti*) of Karduniaš. These statements only indicate that Lubdu must be sought somewhere between the Lower Zâb and Mount Yalman (Jebel Hamrîn), but do not fix its location. However, there is nothing in them contrary to the supposition that Lubdu represented the southern boundary of Arrapha at one period in its history.

Line 12 brings us to the district of Lullubi. Unfortunately, neither Uruna nor Šinu (so?) appear to be known, but there is no difficulty about the location of Lullubi. Early in the third millennium Annubanini, king of Lullubi, carved an inscription in the rock near Ser-i-pul (Ḥolwân), which probably represented his southern border. Two thousand years later we find the Assyrian inscriptions identifying Lullume with Zamua, a small state, later an Assyrian province, east of the Lower Zâb and the Babite Pass (Bazian).⁵⁵ The center of Zamua was roughly about a hundred miles east of Kerkûk, and it was thus the neighbor of Arrapha on the east. That this was the case in the third millennium is implied by the fact that Lubdu is not repeated, as would be the case if Lullubi were south of Arrapha, but a new point is mentioned as the (northern) boundary of Lullubi.

With the next line we find that our geographical continuity is resumed; the next state, *mât Armanî*, shares one boundary with *mât Lullubî*. *Mât Armanî*, early Babylonian Armanum, Assyrian Arman, Alman, Ḥalman, is well known, and offers us little difficulty. It is true that Forrer (pp. 46-7) tries to identify Arman with the country east of Mendeli, but he has been forced to this conclusion by his location of Arzuhîna and Arrapha too far south, where we locate Arrapha and Arman, respectively. Forrer would distinguish between Ḥalman = Ḥolwân (Ser-i-pul), in the land of the Lullubi, and Ḥalman = Arman = (Ab-i-)rawan, the river of Mendeli. Ḥolwân is not, however, in the land of the Lullubi, properly speaking, and Forrer himself places it well outside the southern boundary of Zamua = Lullume. The tablet of Annubanini king of Lullubi erected at Ser-i-pul (see above) only proves that the conquests of Annubanini extended as far as Ḥolwân; it is

⁵⁵ All topographers identify the Babite Pass with Bazian; cf. especially Olmstead, *JAOS*, 38, 230, n. 48, and Forrer, p. 43.

quite possible that in his time the district of Ḫalman was included in the kingdom of Lullubi. It is only natural to identify the Ḫalman-Ḫolwân of Shalmaneser III, Obelisk, line 190, with the Ḫalman which figures in the ninth campaign of the same monarch. As is well known, the Ḫalman of the Bull inscription and the fragmentary text published by Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, no. 110, 1, appears as Arman in the fuller Balawât account. Most scholars (Hüsing, Forrer, etc.) regard Ḫalman and Arman (also Alman of Agum II) as representing the pronunciations of the name by different peoples of the Zagros. Forrer, however, seems to be the only one who tries to distinguish a northern and a southern Ḫalman-Arman. His arguments are derived mainly from the account of Shalmaneser's ninth campaign, above referred to, directed against Marduk-bêl-usâte, brother of Marduk-zâkir-šum king of Babylon. This expedition carried the Assyrian army southward from Nineveh across the Upper and Lower Zâb to Laḫiru and Gananâte, which were stormed, while Marduk-bêl-usâte fled into the mountains of the Yasubi and fortified himself in Arman or Ḫalman. Forrer asserts, without proof, that Gananâte corresponds to Artemita-Dastagird-Zindân, about fifty miles northeast of Baghdâd and some thirty miles west-northwest of Mendeli. Our clearest evidence for its location is found in the description of Šamšî-Adad V's campaign against Babylonia (col. IV). The king marches south from the Lower Zâb along the western slopes of the Zagros, crosses Mount Ebiḫ, and captures Mê-Turnat, on the right side of the upper Turnat (Diyâleh). He then crosses the Turnat and destroys Qarnê, on the left side of the stream. From the account it would seem that Mê-Turnat is to be located at Tell Baradân, while Qarnê corresponds to modern Kyzyl-robât. From Qarnê the Assyrians proceed south, crossing Mount Yalman, and attacking the towns of Di'bina, Datebir and Izduya, which are said to be situated "at the side of" (*ina aḫi*) Gananâte. Since the Assyrians are on the left side of the Diyâleh, it follows that Gananâte, which they do not attack, was situated on the other side of the river, i. e., near Deli Abbas, while Laḫiru presumably lay farther north, on the Narin, precisely where Forrer locates it (p. 47). Since Ser-i-pul lies almost due east of the lower Narin, there is no difficulty in supposing that Marduk-bêl-usâte fled thither on the approach of the Assyrians, whose advance threatened to cut off all communi-

cations with the mountains. It is not stated in our sources that the Babylonian prince had fortified himself in Gananâte; it is rather suggested that he hovered about the Assyrian flank, only fleeing when the fall of the towns of Laḫiru and Gananâte seemed assured. Another objection raised by Forrer is that the land of Ḥalman-Ḥolwân was then Assyrian, and so could not have been held by the Babylonians. His reason for this assumption, given on p. 45, is that the Pass of Simesi, *ina rêš mât Ḥalman*, is mentioned twice in Shalmaneser's inscriptions, once as the starting point of a campaign, and once as the terminus, so must have been on the Assyrian frontier. The expression "at the end (head) of *mât Ḥalman*" need not, however, mean that the pass lay at the eastern end of the land of Ḥalman, which therefore was within the Assyrian border; it is much more natural to suppose that it lay at the northern end of Ḥalman, which then lay southeast of the Assyrian frontier. Forrer also says that Ḥolwân is not in the region then occupied by the Yasubi, which lay to the south. This statement, however, is very rash. Practically our only clear-cut evidence for the location of the land of the Yasubi is the account of Sennacherib's second campaign, from which it follows that they occupied a mountainous region adjoining the Assyrian province of Arrapha. Our location of Arrapha southeast of the lower Zâb compels us to place the Yasubi country in precisely this part of the Zagros, about Ḥolwân.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ In close connection with the question of the location of Arman comes that of Akarsallu, intimately associated with it in Assyrian texts, and sometimes hyphenated as Arman-Akarsallu. Syn. Hist. I, 24 ff. says that Adadnirârî I and Nazimaraddâš fought a battle in Kar-Ištar Akarsallu which resulted in the defeat of the latter, whereupon the boundary was fixed at a line running from Arman-Akarsallu opposite Pilasqu on the other side of the Tigris to Lullume. Since Pilasqu is otherwise unknown, the course of the boundary is not very clear. Syn. Hist. II, 10 ff. ascribes the conquest of Zaban, Irria and Akarsallu to Ašur-dan I. The same compilation, col. II, 22 ff. states that Tiglathpileser I conquered Akarsallu as far as Lubdu, Sûḫi as far as Rapiqu. The parallel makes it certain that Akarsallu here refers to an entire district, lying northward of Lubdu. A new text of this monarch, published by Schroeder, *KAHI* II, no. 66, obv. 10 ff., words it: "from beyond the Lower Zab, Arman-Uḡarsallum (written punningly *A-QAR atSallum*) as far as Lubdu I conquered." Akarsallu is mentioned also as *Ukaršilla* in the list of places conquered by Šilhak-in-šuşinak, where it is named between Madka (Tuz Hurmatly on the upper 'Adejim, *GA*² § 414A) and Ebiḫ (located in our discussion above north of

Lines 14 and 15 are very difficult as they stand, since no geographical theory can place Akkad between Arman and Gutium. Moreover, it would be very strange to find the territory of Gutium delimited by two towns with such good Babylonian names as Abul-Adad and Hallab. But a complication is introduced in line 16, where the district of Niqu is said to extend from the same town of Hallab to []miluni. Unless we can identify Niqu, our attempts at reconstruction will remain quite subjective. Luckily, however, Niqu is otherwise known. In the new Narâm-Šin text found at Boghaz-köi (in Naši) and published by Forrer,⁵⁷ Niqu, with its king Ur-banda, is mentioned between Larak and Dêr, but the order of names in this document is so irregular that no conclusion can be drawn from this fact. It is also mentioned in the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings, who call it *Niqu*, *Niquu*, and locate it in the land of Tupliaš. Tiglathpileser III names the following towns and districts of the land of Tupliaš: Bit-Hamban, Sumurzu, Bit-Barrua, Bit-Zualzaš, Bit-Matti and Niqu.⁵⁸ The new account of the sixteenth year of Shalmaneser III, published by Schroeder,⁵⁹ names three fortified cities of the land of Tukliaš (= Tupliaš): Šumurza, Bit-Adad and Niqu. Šumurza is naturally the Sumurzu of Tiglathpileser. These towns of Tupliaš were subject to Marduk-šum-mudammiq of *mât Namri* (= *mât ZAB*; *ZAB* = *namâru*), a fact which proves conclusively that Tupliaš was located in the immediate vicinity of Namri. All agree that Namri or Bit-Hamban, which as the name of its principal district supplanted it later, lay between Zamua-Lullume and Ellipi north of Elam.⁶⁰

Kyzyl-robat, probably at Sengâbâd Dâgh). This collocation suggests the region between the 'Adeim and the Diyâleh, northeast of Jebel Hamrîn and west of Arman-Holwân, so that Arman-Akarsallu really is the lowlands below the hills of Arman proper. Akarsallu would then be equivalent to the later Laḫiru (the northern district of this name). Since it was only a minor district, it was variously assigned to Arman and to Arrapha, which in our text is stated to extend as far south as Lubdu, otherwise the southern limit of Akarsallu. The suggestion made *AJSL* XL, 133, that Akarsallu may possibly be the prototype of the biblical Ellasar, remains problematical, though rather plausible.

⁵⁷ *Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift*, II, 1, no. 3.

⁵⁸ Slab, lines 17 ff. Other texts offer *Niquu*; cf. Streck, *ZA* XV, 326.

⁵⁹ *KAHL* II, no. 113, rev. IV, 22.

⁶⁰ The Babylonian Nawar-Namar is certainly identical with Assyrian Namri, as shown by the so-called *Freibrief* of Nebuchadrezzar I, where we

Forrer places Namri in the region of Zohâb and Ser-i-pul, where we place Arman-Ḥalman, while Bît-Ḥamban he identifies with Cambadene and locates in the region of Kermânšâh.⁶¹ Namri, however, must be placed south of Ḥalman, which seems never to be included in it, and therefore was situated approximately in the hill-country east of Ḥānikin and Mendeli. Tupliaš then presumably lay in the neighborhood of Mendeli, but could be extended to cover the hill-country in the hinterland, as in the text of Tiglath-pileser III just referred to. Since Niqu, however, is explicitly located in Tupliaš by the new inscription of Shalmaneser III, we must devote a paragraph to the material elsewhere available for the location of Tupliaš.

Tupliaš is the later name of the ancient Sumerian land of Ašnunak or Ešnunak, which survived into a late period as an ideographic equivalent of it. It is ordinarily located on the lower Uknû (Kerḥah),⁶² but this localization is entirely wrong, and based on a misunderstanding, as we shall proceed to show. The passage employed is Sargon, Annals, lines 265-7, which narrates how the Aramaean tribes of Ḥindaru, Yatburu and Puqûdu fled before Sargon's advance, and fortified themselves in a stronghold

read (col. II, 26 ff.): *matī-ma ana arkat ūmē lū ina mārē Ḥabban lū mamma šānū-ma ša ana šakinūti ša māt Namar iššakinu* - - , "whenever, to the end of days, any, either of Bît-Ḥabban or someone else, who are made governors of the land of Namar, etc." Bît-Ḥabban is specifically referred to elsewhere in the text, so there can be no doubt that our rendering is correct. Bît-Ḥabban, the chief district of Namar, is naturally identical with Bît-Ḥamban which appears in the Assyrian texts in the same relation to Namri. Nawar-Namar is first mentioned in the Narām-šîn text published by Boissier as a land conquered by the Accadians (its king was In-māš[?]). Perhaps a little later comes Arisen, king of Urkiš and Nawar. The fact that his inscription is said to have come from Samarrā does not prove for a moment that Namar was situated near Samarrā, as assumed by Thureau-Dangin (*RA* IX, 4) and Landsberger (*op. cit.*, p. 229, n. 5), though Urkiš may possibly have been located there, since Arisen may have extended his conquests to include Samarrā, and the text may not have originated there at all. At all events the location of Namar in the hills due east of Samarrā is easily reconciled with the discovery of Arisen's monument there. For additional material on Namar-Namri see Streck, *ZA* XV, 303-8.

⁶¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

⁶² So, e. g., by Meissner in the map attached to his *Babylonien und Assyrien*, vol. I, and apparently by Langdon, *CAH* I, 447.

in the midst of the river Uknû. Sargon dammed the river on which they relied for defense and thus cut off their means of defense and their water-supply at the same time, so that they were forced to surrender (*nâr Tupliaš nâr tuklâtisunu ina šipik epiri u qanê aksir-ma - - - qalqaltu ušašbi(t)sunûti-ma ultu qirib nâr Uknû uššûni-ma iŝbatû šêpê'a*). The Uknû is here called "River of Tupliaš" because it flows down from Tupliaš, just as the Euphrates is also called "River of Sippar," while the Euphrates flood (cf. above) is the "Water of Mâri."⁶³ Tupliaš thus lay on the upper course of the Uknû. Since the Uknû rises in north-western Luristan, some forty miles northeast of Mendeli (if we disregard the eastern head), it will be seen that Mendeli and its mountainous hinterland are well suited to represent Ašnunak-Tupliaš. Tupliaš and Dêr are also closely associated in early texts,⁶⁴ just as Niquu and Dêr are in our document. Since Dêr is to be located at Bedreh, not quite fifty miles to the south of Mendeli, where we would place Tupliaš, the sequence from north to south in our document is well preserved. The city of Niquu seems to have been dominant in this district during the Dynasty of Akkad, and its close relationship to Ašnunak is shown by the fact that its king in the time of Narâm-Šin was called *Ur-banda* (*ba-an-da*), naturally a mistake for *Ur-Umun-banda*, or the like; Umun-banda was the chief god of Ašnunak-Tupliaš.

Having located Niquu, the connection between it and the town of Hallab stated in line 16 becomes exceedingly improbable. The South Babylonian city of Hallab has had many strange adventures in recent times. On the one hand it has been inveterately confused with Kullab, just as in the case of Aratta and Šurippak; on the other it has been transferred to Aleppo in Syria. The latter combination, which one still finds occasionally, is absurd, especially when it is made with reference to the mention of Hallab and its goddess Ištar the hierodule (*têlîtum*) in the Prologue to the Code of Hammurabi. Here Hallab is mentioned immediately after Lagaš-Girsu, a fact which suggests proximity, since the Code is careful to follow geographical order in naming the cities of the

⁶³ Billerbeck (*MVAG* III, 95 f.), followed rather blindly by many, identified the Nâr Tupliaš with the Duwelij-Duwarij, but his arguments were based upon very inadequate comprehension of the wording of the inscription.

⁶⁴ Cf. Langdon, *CAH* I, 447 ff.

Babylonian Empire. That Ḫallab lay down in this region is established by the reference to it in an Early Babylonian letter, where it is placed on the bank of the canal Ningirsu-ḫegal, the name of which naturally proves a connection with Lagaš and its patron deity. Weissbach's location of Ḫallab "in the midst of Babylon" (*ina kirib Bâbili*),⁶⁵ in which he is followed by Olmstead,⁶⁶ is due to a confusion of ideograms; the text reads clearly *KUL-ÂB-KI*, *Kullab*, not *ZA + SUḪ-ÂB-KI = Ḫallab*. Zimmern, to whom Weissbach refers, had already clearly distinguished between them in the very paper referred to by Weissbach.⁶⁷ Since Kullab is located by all near Erech, our allusion is not quite clear, but in any case has nothing whatever to do with Ḫallab, which must be sought in south-central Babylonia near Lagaš. It is, therefore, clear that Ḫallab has nothing to do with Niquu, north of Dêr.

In order to solve our riddles we must examine the next two lines, 17-18, also. Here Dêr and Lagaš are said to have a common boundary at Ibrat. Unfortunately we do not know the exact location of Ibrat. This city is mentioned in the *Narâm-Šin* text published by Boissier⁶⁸ after Awak, which seems to have been situated between Babylonia and Elam proper. *Ašurbânipal* lists it among the towns of Elam whose inhabitants had fled to Mount Saladri before the first Assyrian advance, and did not yield until the surrender of Pae, after the rest of the land, including Susa, had been overrun by the Assyrians. From the fact that this group of towns must have been situated either in or at the edge of the mountains, it becomes evident that it originally escaped destruction at the hands of the Assyrians because it lay in the northwestern corner of Elam, north of the main line of attack. According to Streck these towns formed part of the region called *Râšu* in the texts of *Ašurbânipal*, situated between northern Elam and Babylonia, but usually found on the side of the former, though not always.⁶⁹ While this is not certain, there can be no doubt that they lay in the vicinity. Perhaps the *Kibrat* of the great geographical inscription of *Silḫak-in-Šušinak*, line 82, mentioned with

⁶⁵ *Babylonische Miscellen*, no. 15, line 2.

⁶⁶ *AJSL* XXXV, 94, n. 6.

⁶⁷ *ZA* III, 97.

⁶⁸ *RA*, 1919, 157-64.

⁶⁹ *Assurbânipal*, pp. cccxliii, n. 2; 47; n. 6; 804.

Madka, Ukarsilla and Ebiḥ,⁷⁰ is the same as our Ibrat, whether the initial *k* be due to a real phonetic variant or to an error. In any case Ibrat must be sought in the region of Dêr, either east or north of it. It is then quite certain that it cannot be placed midway between Dêr and Lagaš, i. e., near Kut el-Amârah or Kut el-Ḥai, as required by the present arrangement of our document.

There are thus three impossibilities in the present form of our text, lines 14-18. A slight rearrangement removes them entirely, giving us so natural a sequence that it may safely be adopted, bearing in mind that the results are not certain, however reasonable they may appear to be. If we leave the first part of these five lines in their present order, and change the sequence Akkad-Gutium-Niqqu-Dêr-Lagaš to Gutium-Akkad-Lagaš-Niqqu-Dêr, Gutium receives the boundaries []izzat—Abul-Adad, Akkad stretches from Abul-Adad to Ḥallab, Lagaš from Ḥallab to []miluni, Niqqu from Šurbu to Ibrat, and Dêr from Ibrat to []pa(ḥat)tum. Abul-Adad lay then on the common border of Gutium and Akkad, while Ḥallab was similarly situated with respect to Akkad and Lagaš, and Ibrat lay midway between Niqqu and Dêr. Abul-Adad may then have been located on the Tigris above Baghdād; Ḥallab belongs somewhere in Central Babylonia, presumably near Adab (Bismīyeh) or Umma (Jôḥah). Ibrat may tentatively be placed in the hills north of Bedreh and southeast of Mendeli, where there are a number of ancient mounds.

From our source it appears that Gutium was situated much farther southwest than generally supposed, on the northeastern side of Babylonian proper. This localization cannot have been original, however, since it would bring Gutium down into the region of Samarrā, between the Ḥamrīn and the Tigris, whereas the early references always speak of Gutium as a mountainous land—the “dragon of the mountains,” etc. Moreover, the Assyrian inscriptions place the Guti or Quti in the Central Zagros, and the geographical vocabulary Schroeder, no. 183, line 8, identifies Gutium with Abdadani, a district of Parsua (Bīt-Abdadani), southeast of Lullume-Zamua and east of Namri. On the other hand, the localization of our document is supported by the otherwise known location of Tirqan ša pân Gutium just northeast of Baghdād, as we shall see in our discussion of line 22. We find, therefore, two

⁷⁰ For the location of these places cf. the note on Akarsallu above.

contradictory locations of Gutium, one in the heart of the Zagros, the other in the region of Samarrā. The probable explanation of this apparent anomaly is that when the Gutu conquered Babylonia in the middle of the third millennium, only part of the people left the ancestral home in the Zagros, which continued to be called after their name. The emigrants settled for the most part in the region north and northeast of Babylonia, contenting themselves with a more or less nominal suzerainty over the latter. The district where the bulk of them settled still remained predominantly Gutaean, and was called *Gutium* even after the fall of the Gutu Dynasty. Whether or not the geographical situation presupposed by our text was already true in the time of Akkad may be doubted, but until we know more of the movements which led to the establishment of the Gutu Dynasty cannot safely be denied.

Line 19 introduces us to the land of []umta, which does not seem to occur elsewhere. Its extent is given as from []bi to the sea (*A-AB-BA* = *tāmtu*), unless we are to take the following *UKU-MĒŠ* = *nîšê* as belonging with it. Since, however, the name of the district is not preceded by the usual *mât*, it is better to take the *nîšê* with the following []um-ta^{KI}, rendering "(nomadic) people of []umta," as suggested to me by Père Dhorme. The district in question then belongs to the Sea Lands, which were much less extensive in the third millennium than in the first, and may have lain south of *mât ERIM*, which comes next.

Mât ERIM is known from other early references, though the exact reading of the name remains unknown. It extended from a town whose name ended in *b* to Mangiṣu, fortunately known otherwise. In the dating for the thirty-second year of Ḫammurabi, now known from several interesting variants published by Langdon⁷¹ and Boissier,⁷² the king is said to have defeated the host of Ešnunak, Subartu and Gutium, and to have conquered the land of Mankizum and the land on the bank of the Tigris (*ma-da Ma-an-ki-zi*^{KI} à *ma-da gú id Idigna*) as far as the border of Subartu. Landsberger apparently regards the two episodes as distinct,⁷³ but

⁷¹ *Weld-Blundell Collection*, vol. II, pl. V, col. II, 1-6. Langdon (*ibid.*, p. 32) read *Malgi*, taking the last sign to be *MURGU* and considering it a kind of doublet to the preceding *Ma-AN-ki*, which he then read *Ma-ál-ki*, but it is simply *ZUM* (*šu*).

⁷² *RA* XX, 1 ff.

⁷³ *Op. cit.*, p. 231.

it is difficult to explain it in such a way, especially in view of the double mention of Subartu. In any case, our text clearly locates Mangiṣu on or in the immediate vicinity of the Tigris, in the direction of Tupliaš-Ašnunnak, though not necessarily so far north. Fortunately, Mangiṣu is elsewhere mentioned, in such a way that its approximate location becomes fairly clear. Landsberger has already directed attention to the reference in the endowment deed of Kurigalzu,⁷⁴ by which the king bestows a tract of land over two hundred square miles in extent upon the goddess Iṣtar.⁷⁵ Here we read (lines I, 24 ff.): (The boundaries of the deeded land extend) "from the town of Adattu which is on the bank of the river Euphrates to the town of Mangissu adjoining the field of Durankinarâm-Enlil, (and) from the town of my Lady (Iṣtar) Bît-Gašan-ama-kalla to the boundary of Girsu." Three of the places named are located with tolerable clearness; unfortunately, Bît-Gašan-ama-kalla seems to be entirely unknown, though it must have been at the opposite end of the territory in question from Girsu near Lagaš. Mangissu is doubly located, first as being at the opposite end from the Euphrates, and secondly as being near the field of Durankinarâm-Enlil, whose name proves proximity to Nippur. At that time the course of the Euphrates followed the upper Šaṭṭ el-Qâr or perhaps the Šaṭṭ el-Afej, flowing just south of Nippur, while the Tigris followed the present bed of the Šaṭṭ el-Ḥai, as well known.⁷⁶ If we suppose that our tract was roughly square, with its corners at the four places mentioned, the two opposite towns were just over twenty miles apart. Probably, however, the tract was broken up and not continuous, so that we may allow ourselves more room, and locate Mangiṣu east of Nippur and southwest of Kût el-Ḥai, on a canal branching off from the Tigris-Šaṭṭ el-

⁷⁴ *CT* XXXVI, pl. VI-VII, and fragmentary duplicate in Nies, *Historical, Religious and Economic Texts and Antiquities*, no. 23. The text is also treated by Ungnad in the *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*, vol. I, pp. 29 ff.

⁷⁵ The text offers 60 šar = 1080 ikû. Since we are here dealing with *kudurru* measures the ikû is equal to the *simdu*, or a little more than 79 acres (Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XVIII, 134). The total would then be over fifty thousand hectares.

⁷⁶ Cf. Billerbeck, *MVAG* III, 81 ff., and the map in Meissner's *Assyrien und Babylonien*, vol. I. For clear statements in the texts, which are generally understood in this sense, cf. Gudea, Cyl. A, I, 9 etc. (*JAOS* 39, 78, n. 20); Sin-idinnam of Larsa (*SAKI* 208 ff.; Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 ff.). Langdon's observations (*loc. cit.*) are very strange.

Ḥai. Such a location, thirty to forty miles from Nippur, is quite consistent with our data, and agrees well with the indications of the Ḥammurabi year-name.⁷⁷ Since this was one extremity of *mât ERIM*, the other one must have been more remote from Babylonia proper; *mât ERIM* was then probably the district between the upper Saṭṭ el-Ḥai and the present bed of the Tigris, east of a line from Kût el-Amârah south. There is nothing in the other references to *mât ERIM*, found mainly in the business documents of the Ur Dynasty, to throw any doubt upon the general accuracy of this localization.

Line 21 provides us with a second set of boundaries for Akkad. If the text is in order, we may perhaps suppose that Ḥiṣat (which has nothing to do with the []izzat of line 14) was situated a little west of Mangiṣu, especially since the other boundary is Sippar, at the extreme northwestern end of Babylonia, whereas Abul-Adad is at the frontier of Gutium, toward the northeast, and Ḥallab must be sought not far from Lagaš, thus suggesting a tendency to southeast-northwest and northeast-southwest grouping.

The next entries (lines 22-4) are continuous and apparently in order; they enable us to fill out the gap between Akkad on the west and Niqqu-Dêr-Yamutbal on the east. The land of Edamarus begins at Tirgan ša Gutium and extends southward to Uzarilulu. Tirgan ša Gutium is elsewhere mentioned, but a discussion will be necessary before we can proceed to apply the data gleaned from other sources. In two geographical lists⁷⁸ three or four towns named Tirgan or Tirqan are distinguished. In the Ninevite list we have: 1. *Tir-ga-an*^{KI} = *Tirgan ša*^u *Bulala*; 2. *Tir-ga-an IGI ḤAR-SAG*^{KI} = *Tirgan ša pân šadî* = *Arman: Padin*; 3. *Tir-ga-an IGI Gu-ti*^{KI} = *Tirgan ša pân Guti* = *Ḥarḥar*. The Assur list gives us: 1. *Tir-qa-an IGI Gu-ti-um*^{KI} = *Tirqa[n] ša pân Guti* = *âl Lu(?)-ti(?)*; 2. *Tir-qa-an IGI ḤAR-SAG*^{KI} = *Tirgan šadî ša*^u *Bula[la]*; 3. *Tir-qa-an*^{KI} = ditto = *Sirqu ša pân Sûti*. The third

⁷⁷ The name *Mankizu* also appears in Upper Mesopotamia. In Johns, *Assyr. Doomsday Book*, no. 6, we learn that captives of the Gambulu tribe, carried from eastern Babylonia, were settled in Laqê and Mankisi', etc. Perhaps the captives carried the name with them—a well-known occurrence in this period—and it was afterwards interpreted by the people of the land as *Man-ki-Si*', "Who is like the God Si'" (pronounced *šē*', North-Arabie *šai'*; there is no connection with *šin*, pronounced *Sin* by the Assyrians).

⁷⁸ VR 12. no. 6, 46-8; KAVI no. 183, 14-6.

town in the Assur list is the well-known Tirqa-Sirqu below the mouth of the Ḥabûr, which we have had occasion to mention above. The second town in the Assur list corresponds to the first two in the Ninevite list, an equivalence either due to conflation in the former or to gratuitous distinction in the latter. Since the Assur list is the older of the two, it seems probable that the Ninevite list (or its prototype) has accidentally omitted the Tirqan on the Euphrates and has made good the loss by splitting the data given for *Tirqan šadî ša* "Bulala, and making two towns out of the one. According to the Ninevite list Tirqan šadî was represented in Assyrian times by Arman or Padin, which naturally cannot be the *PA-din* = Ḥattin of Northern Syria, but doubtless is the Padan of Agum II, mentioned with Alman = Arman. This Tirqan then lay in the neighborhood of Ḥolwân, in the district of Arman, which we have studied above. The first Tirqan of the Assur list is the third of the Ninevite list, Tirqan ša Gutium, in which we are interested. The Ninevite list identifies it with the later district of Ḥarḥar, evidently, as we shall see, because its redactor identified Gutium with this Assyrian province, just as the Assur redactor (cf. above) combined it with Abdadani; Ḥarḥar and Abdadani were adjoining districts, both east of Namri. The town of Tirqan can not possibly be located in the Central Zagros, however, since Edamarus immediately adjoined the East-Babylonian district of Mâri. Edamarus is only mentioned elsewhere under this name, so far as I know, in the date formula for the tenth year of Samsuiluna, where the king is said to have vanquished the hosts of Idamaras, Yamutbal, Uruk and Isin. The very collocation of names warns against placing Idamaras in the Zagros. Its northern boundary, towards Gutium, must be placed at the *âl* Tiriqan of the *kudurru* of Nazimarrutaš,⁷⁹ situated on the river Daban (*kišâd nâr Daban*); the names *Tirqan* and *Tiriqan* are naturally identical.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Scheil, *DEP* II, 86 ff.

⁸⁰ Thureau-Dangin has compared the name of *âl* Tiriqan with that of the Gutî king, whose name is spelled exactly the same. Since this town is explicitly called *Tirqan ša Gutium*, the combination is plausible, especially since one of the other two towns of the same name was situated in Arman or the vicinity—near Gutium, at all events. If the three towns all derived their names from a king of Gutium we can hardly identify the latter with Tiriqan, the last king of the Gutî Dynasty, who is assigned a total reign of only forty days by the Weld-Blundell Prism, and whose

The *kudurru* also mentions in the following lines *mât Bagdadi* on the *nâr šarri* (Baghdād), the *nâr Migati* in the district of Tupliaš (Mendeli; see above), and the *nâr šarri* in the district of Upi (Seleucia),⁸¹ pointing to the country between Baghdād, Seleucia and Mendeli as the general location of Tiriqan. The *nâr Daban*, on which Tiriqan was situated, is also mentioned in the inscription of Šamši-Adad V, col. IV, where it is related that the Assyrians and Babylonians fought a battle at Dûr-Papsukal on the river Daban. The latter is generally identified (e. g., by Olmstead) with one of the canals, especially the Beledrûz, which flow from the lower course of the Diyâleh. As Billerbeck pointed out many years ago, the beds of all the streams in Eastern Babylonia have been so subject to shifting that one cannot safely assume that their modern course, which often, moreover, varies according to the season, corresponds to the ancient one.⁸² In view of the fact that the natural route of Šamši-Adad would take him down the present course of the Diyâleh, toward Baghdād, it is probable that the Daban is represented by the present lower course of the Diyâleh, while the Turnat itself followed the Beledrûz channel, as already suggested by Billerbeck.⁸³ Tiriqan was then located not far from Ba'qûbâ, but rather south than north of it.

The southern boundary of Edamarus was at Uzarilulu, otherwise apparently not mentioned in our available sources. The name, however, is good Babylonian, and may be compared to *Uzarpara*

career ended in disaster. One suspects that there was a much earlier king Tiriqan I, who may have reigned before the conquest of Babylonia, perhaps shortly after Šarlak, the contemporary of Ša-kâli-šarri. Of course, the similarity of names may be simply coincidence.

⁸¹ Upi-Opis is now located by virtually all scholars at or near Seleucia-Ctesiphon, on the Tigris below Baghdad. For Opis = Seleucia cf. Streck, *Seleucia und Ktesiphon* (*D. alte Orient*, vol. XVI), pp. 1-5; Ungnad, *ZMDG* LXVII, 138 ff.; Luckenbill, *AJSL* XL, 148 f.; Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 104. The northern localization was due to the mistake of Xenophon, *Anabasis*, II, 4, 13; 25, where we should have Opis in place of Sittace and Sittace further north at the mouth of the Physcus, in place of Opis. The transposition is easy to explain when we remember that Xenophon wrote years after the events narrated. A very similar transposition of names has been pointed out in the *Anabasis* by the present writer, *Am. Jour. of Phil.*, vol. XLIII, pp. 74-5.

⁸² See *MVAG* III, 81 ff.

⁸³ *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

and *Uzargaršana*, both names of towns in the neighborhood of Erech.⁵⁴ All these names are Sumerian; *uzar* is probably the same as *usar*, "rest, sleep," and hence would seem to mean "place of rest, settlement." The name *Assur* (*Aššur* is the Babylonian pronunciation) is written in Sumerian *A-usar*, i. e., "Water-settlement," from which *Assur* is naturally derived. The second element, *ilulu*, is obscure; *illu* means "flood" (*A-KALAG* = *milu*, *biblu*, *mû dannûtu*), and *Uzar-ilulu* might mean "Flood-settlement." *Uzar-para* perhaps means "Extended (*pâr*) Settlement"; *Uzargaršana* is less transparent, though no less Sumerian in appearance. *Uzarilulu* may have been situated on the Tigris below Baghdâd or more likely on the upper Nahrwân canal, east of the Tigris.

Proceeding southward we next come (line 23) to *mât Mâri*, which stretched from *Uzarilulu* to *Bit-Šinna*. The name *Mâri* seems to be preserved today unchanged; the canal which watered the land of *Mâri* is still called *Nahr Mâri*, branching off from the Nahrwân and flowing southeast parallel to the Tigris, at an average distance of about twenty miles from it. The name is naturally identical with that of *Mâri* on the Euphrates near *Deir ez-Zôr* (see above), and is written ideographically in the same way: *MÂ-URU*, though the writing *MA-URU* also occurs. There are two passages which certainly refer to the southeastern *Mâri*, and it may be that others hitherto connected with the Euphrataean city of the name really belong to the *Mâri* east of the Tigris. The first passage is the date-formula of the thirty-fifth year of *Ham-murabi*, in which the king claims to have destroyed the wells of *Mâri* and *Malgûm*. On the basis of this collocation King and others formerly placed *Malgûm* below *Mâri*, on the Middle Euphrates,⁵⁵ a localization of *Malgûm* which has been reintroduced by Landsberger.⁵⁶ Though absolutely impossible, as we shall see, this view is strictly logical; *Mâri* and *Malgûm* belong clearly together—but the East-Tigris *Mâri* is referred to. The second passage is in the new texts of Sargon I published by Legrain (*Mus. Journal.*, 1923, 208 ff.), in columns 3-4 and 9, where the victory

⁵⁴ Cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Chronologie des dynasties de Sumer et d'Accad*, p. 31.

⁵⁵ Cf. King, *History of Babylon*, p. 154, n. 3.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 233.

over Uga of Mâri (*MA-URU*) and of Elam is mentioned. Here Mâri must be a state bordering on Elam.^{86a} It may be added that there is a third Mâri in Northern Mesopotamia, the Assyrian Marê which is mentioned with Nimit-Ištar, Apqu, etc., and has been identified by Forrer and others with Tell Bū-marīyeh (better Abū-Marīyeh) forty-six kilometres west-northwest of Mōṣul, though the location is not altogether satisfactory, despite the fact that Layard found an Assyrian settlement here.

An attempt to identify Bît-Šinna or Bît-Šin, the southern boundary of Mâri, with one of the many towns of this name mentioned in the inscriptions is likely to be hazardous. Besides Bît-Šin and Dûr-Šin we have, e. g., Bît-Šin-magir, Bît-Šin-iššahra, Bît-Šin-erība, etc., in texts of the second millennium, while later ones offer Bît-Šin-erība, Bît-Šin-līšir, etc. We may tentatively suggest a location on the Tigris between 'Azīzīyeh and Kuweit for the southern border of Mâri, along the Tigris.

Going on southward, we find ourselves in the territory of Malgûm, or Malgî, which had a common boundary with Mâri at Bît-Šinna, and extended as far as Maškan-šabrî. The latter town is often mentioned in Early Babylonian literary and business documents. There is no need of listing all the occurrences. The most interesting one is in the Code of Hammurabi, which names Maškan-šabrîm between Adab and Malgûm, suggesting a location southwest of Kût el-Amârah, in a land now occupied by swamps, but full of ancient mounds. This general location is supported by a letter cited by Ungnad (*OLZ* 1917, 203), which mentions Maškan-šabrîm in close connection with Adab-Bismīyeh. Malgûm was therefore the district on both sides of the Tigris above Kût el-Amârah, and lay across the road from Dêr to Nippur. This localization is also in accord with the *kudurru* of Melišipak (*DEP* X, col. II, 19-20, etc.) which shows that Malgî lay near *mât tâmtim*, the Sea Land.

Line 25 brings us to Emutbal or Yamutbal, as it is also called, especially in the early period. The land is frequently mentioned in our sources, especially toward the close of the third millennium, when Kudur-Mabuk made it the focus of a mighty empire. Dis-

^{86a} Since the southeastern Mâri is so much nearer the other dynastic capitals of the early period, such as Awan, Ḥamazi, Adab, Kiš, we must clearly also refer the dynasty headed by *ŠUD* to it.

cussions of its location usually start with the passage in the texts of Ašurbānapal, where it is related that the men of Kirbit had plundered Yamutbal, whereupon the people of Dêr pressed the Assyrians for help.⁸⁷ It follows either that Dêr was located in Yamutbal or that it lay just outside, and was thus directly threatened by the raid.⁸⁸ Bît-Šarrugina is not otherwise known, but it evidently received its name from Sargon of Akkad. At all events, Emutbal probably was situated in the foothills of the Pušt-i-Kûh, east and southeast of Dêr, and north to northeast of *mât ERIM*.

The next two names of districts are unfortunately lost, but the boundaries given make it clear that they were situated still farther east, in Elam. Probably one of them was actually Elam, perhaps the first, while the second may possibly have been Anzan. However this may be, one is tempted to identify Bît-Ḫubba⁸⁹ of line 26 with the town of Ḫubbu in Elam, mentioned in an inscription of Idadu-Šušinak from the last centuries of the third millennium.⁹⁰ One may perhaps go still farther, and identify Bît-Ḫubba with the Elamite frontier city of Bît-Imbi, conquered by Sennacherib, and forming the key to Elam, according to Ašurbānapal.⁹¹ For the phonetic change one may compare *Ḫudḫud* = *Idide*, both names of the same Elamite river. On the other hand one may compare the name *Til-Ḫumba*, i. e., "Mound of (the city) Ḫumba," belonging to a town in the region between southeastern Babylonia and Elam.⁹² The town at the other end of the district from Bît-Ḫubba was called Raḫabût,⁹³ otherwise unknown. Nor is anything known of the next towns mentioned, Bît-GAB-GAL, which Schroeder (index) thinks may be read *Bit-kidmuri*, and Eriyaba.

Line 28 also names an Elamite district—Mutibal, which ex-

⁸⁷ Cf. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 230, and Streck, *Assurbānapal*, II, 99, n. 5.

⁸⁸ Weidner, *Könige von Assyrien*, p. 43, n. 2 quotes a late astrological commentary as explaining *Emutbalu* by *Dêr*. This need not, however, mean that Dêr was the capital of Emutbal, as suggested by Weidner, but only that Dêr and Emutbal were so closely associated that the former was considered practically equivalent to the latter, more archaic term.

⁸⁹ Schroeder's index to *KAVI* gives *Bît-Ḫi-ba*, but his own copy offers a clear *HUB* instead of *QI*.

⁹⁰ *SAKI* 181, no. 2, 32.

⁹¹ Cf. Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 324 and the Rassam Cyl., col. IV, 123 ff.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 323.

⁹³ There was an Early Babylonian town called *Raḫabu* near Larsa (Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, no. 17, 11; 45, 9).

tends from Durgu to the river *KUR-RA-KI*, probably the Kerḥah, though the Karûn is also possible. In any case, Mutiabab lay southeast of Yamutbal, so curiously like it in name. In Chiera's list of "Amorite" names, lines 19, 35, both *Yamutbala* and *Mutiabala* occur.⁹⁴ Chiera thinks that Yamutbal and Mutiabab were both centres of Amorite influence in the East Tigris country,⁹⁵ but this seems rather doubtful. Landsberger prefers to regard the Yamutbal as originally a tribe of "East Canaanites" (cf. above),⁹⁶ but does not explain how the lords of this district, Šimti-šilhak and Kudur-Mabuk, received their purely Elamite names. The district of Mutiabab is said by Kudur-Mabuk himself to have oppressed Larsa before his own conquest of that city.⁹⁷ I do not believe that *Yamutbal* and *Mutiabab* are any more Semitic than *Huwawa* (= *Humbaba*) in the same list published by Chiera.⁹⁸ How the morphological relation between *Ya-mut-bal* and *Mut-ya-bal* can be explained as Semitic has not been made clear either by Chiera or by Landsberger.

The next two lines (29-30) are obviously in a corrupt state, since no sense whatever can be made out of them as they stand. Both contain the sequence *ištu-adî*, so both should give the land thus bounded, in each case introduced by *mât*, "land of." Now, in line 29 we actually have two names of lands preceded by *mât*, one certainly misplaced. Since Abul-šurrikki and Dimtu are both Babylonian names, the latter being a well-known Early Babylonian town, as we shall see, *mât Šumeri* clearly belongs with them. This leaves *mât Amurri* for the next line, which furnishes the limits of a land extending from the Euphrates to Meluhḥa—naturally *mât Amurri*, not *mât Šumeri*. Our scribe inadvertently wrote *mât Amurri* a line too soon, and when he discovered his mistake added the correct *mât Šumeri* at the end of the line. To indicate his error he then repeated the last word of the transposed phrase, *Mâri*, at the end of the next line, where it properly belonged. His procedure probably seemed to him so clear that there could be no danger of misunderstanding; to us it is not quite so simple. We should thus read lines 29-30 as follows:

⁹⁴ Cf. *Pub. of Babyl. Sect., Univ. of Penn. Mus.*, vol. XI, no. 2.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 238.

⁹⁷ Cf. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* IX, 121; *Chronologie*, p. 18, n. 1.

⁹⁸ Cf. *JSOR* VII, 18 f.

29. *ištu Abul-šur-rik-ki adi Dim-t[i]—mât Šu-me-ri*
 30. *120 bêrê ši-id-du ištu miḥir nâr Pu-rat-ti adi mišir mât*
Me-luḥ-ḥa—mât Amurri ša mišir(šu) Mâ-ri

The boundaries of Šumer are Abul-šurrikki and Dimtu.⁹⁹ The former is otherwise unknown, though the name is good Babylonian. The latter is mentioned not infrequently in Early Babylonian letters, under the ideographic writing *AN-ZA-KAR-KI*, as a town not far from Nippur and near Kar-Nusku,¹⁰⁰ and was thus in Central Babylonia. Dimtu is accordingly the northern boundary of Šumer, while Abul-šurrikki is presumably the southern. As is well known, Sumerian Engi or Kengi was properly the region of Erech, Ur and Larsa, which always remained the focus of Sumerian civilization. It is very interesting to find our document distinguishing sharply between Šumer and Lagaš. Evidently the land on the other side of the Tigris-Šaṭṭ el-Hai was not considered part of Babylonia proper, which was represented by Šumer and Akkad, the Land of the Two Rivers.

Line 30 is extremely important, and peculiarly pertinent now, because of the controversy over the location of Magan and Meluḥ. The term *šiddu* means "length," and is here used of distance along one line, in one direction, whereas *rêbitu*, "width, breadth," is used in our text of distance around a district, length of its boundary, as we shall presently see. The *bêru* is here not an exact surveyor's measure of length, but naturally the distance covered in an average march of two hours (*bêru* = double-hour), that is, between four and five miles in a straight line, depending upon the nature of the country traversed. For us, therefore, the double value of the *bêru*, which plays a well-known rôle in Babylonian metrology and topography, is quite indifferent. A distance of 120 *bêrê* through Amurru then corresponds to from 500 to 600 English miles, presumably nearer the former than the latter.¹⁰¹ It must

⁹⁹ Schroeder gives *Gim-t[i]* in the index to *KAVI*, and identifies with Gath. Our reading is so obviously correct, once it is pointed out, that no discussion is necessary.

¹⁰⁰ For its relative vicinity to Nippur see Ungnad, *Babylonian Letters of the Hammurapi Period*, no. 7; for mention with Kar-Nusku see Lutz, *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts*, no. 61.

¹⁰¹ Cf. the writer's comments in *JAOS* 42, 317, n. 1. It should be noted that the observations there made regarding Mâri = Syria-Palestine are superseded by the present interpretation of our text.

be measured from the Euphrates barrage, i. e., from the barrage and reservoir *par excellence*, since there were many dams all the way up the Euphrates. Now, the largest barrage on the Upper Euphrates of which I can find any mention in ancient sources is the great Euphrates dam from which the "Canal of Semiramis" just below Deir ez-Zôr was fed. This dam is briefly described by Isidore of Charax: "There is the Canal of Semiramis, and the Euphrates is blocked up with stones, in order that being narrowed it may overflow the plains, but in summer it wrecks boats." Both name and description show that the barrage was then already in ruins. Since it is located precisely where we have placed Mâri (see above), there can be no doubt that it goes back ultimately to the age of Mâri's prosperity, in the third millennium B. C. I have, therefore, little doubt that this is the barrage referred to in our document. There is much less difficulty in fixing the direction in which the 120 *bêrê* are to be measured; since Amurru is roughly equivalent to our "Syria," its length must be measured along the trade-routes running southward from the Euphrates. From Deir-ez-Zôr to el-Qanṭarah, ancient Sillû-Sellê,¹⁰² is 550 miles in a straight line, or about 600 miles allowing for the initial bend to get around the Syrian desert and the final one to follow the shore around from Gaza to Pelusium. If the figures reported in our text are approximately correct, there can thus be no doubt that Meluh here represents Egypt. Unless our text is far more corrupt than our studies would lead one to suppose, Meluh cannot possibly be localized in the basin of the Persian Gulf, as now maintained by many scholars. This question will be taken up below, however, so we may pass on for the present.—The final phrase *ša mišir-(šu) Mâ-rî^{KI}*, "whose frontier is Mâri," corresponds exactly to the similar phrase above in line 1: *ša mišir-šu mât Meluhha*, "whose frontier is Meluh." Its purpose is, of course, to make clear where the land of Amurru proper begins. Originally (cf. the discussion above) it appears that Amurru and Mâri were identical terms; when Amurru developed the special connotation "northwest, west," it was also specialized to designate the geographical section of the West beyond Mâri. In our text Amurru is Palestine and Syria, just as in the Late Assyrian inscriptions, whose terminology is strongly archaizing, as is well known.

¹⁰² Cf. *JEA* X, 6 f.

Line 31 seems to be a slightly garbled quotation from the poetical composition which we have supposed (cf. above on lines 4-5) to underly our commentary. It requires no special comment; our translation is not altogether satisfactory, but for this the cuneiform copyists are probably to blame. The next line is unintelligible, and can only be explained on the assumption that the original tablet was so damaged here at the bottom that it was illegible.

With the next lines the style of the tablet changes rather abruptly, and the countries now listed, with their extent, only correspond accidentally to the lands hitherto named. It would seem that lines 33-40, at least, were taken from another geographical commentary to the Sargon literature, but this hypothesis cannot be verified, in the present state of our knowledge. The names show an apparent tendency to modernize, which may point to a later origin of this section.

The meaning of *rêbitu* in this section cannot be "width," since there is no object in fixing the breadth of a country unless the length is also given. Nor can it mean "extent" in the sense of "length," since the land of Akkad, which is assigned 180 *bêrê*, would then be at least 700 miles long, whereas even if all Babylonia from Sippar to Eridu is included under the head of Akkad, the length of the country is actually only just over 200. It is clear that *rêbitu* here has not usurped the meaning of *šiddu*, which is expressly used in this sense a few lines above. The ancients were accustomed to measure large tracts of land roughly by determining the distance around them. The term *rêbitu*, etymologically meaning "extent, scope in all directions," means when applied to land "extent, size," precisely like Hebrew *rôḥab* and *raḥâb*. In our text, then, the *rêbitu* is indicated by the distance around the border of a given area of land. The length of a given district would then be roughly one-fourth the total distance given. In this case Akkad is assigned a *rêbitu* of 700-900 miles, or approximately one-fourth as much a length, the result agreeing closely with the actual length of Babylonia proper. It is hardly likely that the figures are very exact, and the statements regarding less well-known countries may only be guesses, though they may naturally be based on primitive surveys intended to fix the relative amount of tribute to be paid by different subject states.

The first land thus appraised is Marḥaši or Paraše, often men-

tioned in early cuneiform sources. In the vocabularies *Paraše* appears as the equivalent of the ideographic *MAR-ĦA-ŠI*, but since the Semitic texts from the Akkad Dynasty call the district *Baraḥsi* or *Baraḥši*, it is evident that *Marḥaši* is only an older Sumerian form of the same name, or possibly a dialectic variant. Formerly *Marḥaši* was identified by some scholars with *Mar'aš* in Northern Syria, but, plausible as it is from the purely phonetic point of view, this identification has proved to be entirely wrong. The inscriptions of Erimuš, Sargon's son and successor, place the great battle in which he defeated Abalgamaš king of Baraḥsi and Sidgau, his *šakanakku*, between Awan and Susa.¹⁰³ It does not, of course, follow that the land of Baraḥsi lay between these two Elamite towns, as sometimes stated.¹⁰⁴ Since Erimuš states afterwards that he "tore out the foundations of Baraḥsi from among the peoples of Elam, and - - - conquered Elam," it would seem that Abalgamaš of Baraḥsi was the head of an Elamite coalition which designed to throw off the Babylonian yoke imposed by Sargon. The battle was fought west of Susa, in any case, though the location of Awan and its relation to Awak, if any, are at present apparently insoluble problems. There is a very respectable amount of material already available for Awan and Awak, but it is very elusive. Awak seems to have been situated in the vicinity of Kazallu, itself perhaps located in *mât ERIM* north of Lagaš, between the Šaṭṭ-el-Ħai and the present bed of the Tigris, as shown above. A location on the upper course of the Šaṭṭ et-Tib would suit the various references very well, if Awak and Awan are identical. If they are not, we shall have to give the problem up for the time. *Marḥaši* we may tentatively locate in the mountains north of Elam proper, in the region known in Assyrian times as Ellipi (southeastern Luristan). In early times the extension of Elam northwards was greater, and the mountains of *Marḥaši* were counted to Elam. In favor of this location may be cited the fact that a highly-prized breed of dog was called after *Paraše*,¹⁰⁵ which reminds one of the Median dog of classical antiquity. The forty *bêrê* extension assigned it in our text indicates a breadth of only some forty or fifty miles, if correct.

¹⁰³ Poebel, *HT* 197-8, 202.

¹⁰⁴ So, for example, by Langdon, *CAH* I, 408 below.

¹⁰⁵ Delitzsch, *Sum. Gloss.*, p. 181, s. v. *mar-ġa-ši*.

Marḥaši-Paraše is followed by Tukriš, which is otherwise only mentioned by Šamši-Adad I, king of Assyria in the latter part of the nineteenth century B. C.,¹⁰⁶ by whom it was subdued, or at least raided. In later centuries it disappears completely from our view. Streck has perhaps identified it correctly, at least in name, with the Sikriš which Sargon added to the province of Ḥarḥar, the late name for part of Gutium (see above).¹⁰⁷ Tukriš would then be the district north of Marḥaši, if we are correct in identifying the latter with Ellipi, south of Ḥarḥar. We cannot well place Marḥaši in western Ellipi, Tukriš in eastern, because of the relative nearness of the latter to Assyria, so a location of the latter in the later Ḥarḥar or the immediate neighborhood seems very plausible. Tukriš is given an extension of sixty *bêrê*, or an average breadth of about sixty to seventy-five miles, which is plausible enough, though it naturally cannot be checked.

The third land in this list is Elam, which is credited with an extension of ninety *bêrê*, or an average breadth of roughly a hundred miles, just half that assigned in the next line to Akkad, an allowance which sounds quite reasonable.

Line 37 brings us to the much-debated land of Subartu, which is said to have an extension of 120 *bêrê*, or about 150 miles at most. Since Landsberger has convincingly located it in the region east of Assyria and north of Babylonia,¹⁰⁸ we may identify it here roughly with the country bounded by the Tigris, Upper Zab, Zagros and Diyâleh, a region occupied since the earliest times that we can trace by a "Subaraean" or Hurrian population. Whether or not the thin strip west of the Tigris held by the Assyrian was also sometimes counted to Subartu is not certain, but very likely.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *JSOR* VIII, 53, 8.

¹⁰⁷ *ZA* XX, 460 (cf. also Olmstead, *AJSL* XXXVI, 128, n. 1). Streck's parallel *Sikraki* = *Tikrakkî* (*ZA* XV, 331) is probably erroneous, since *SI* and *TI* resemble each other so closely that a mere copyist's error is likely. *Sirqu* = *Tirqa* seems to be a better parallel, though perhaps too remote geographically.

¹⁰⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 228 ff.; cf. also above, on line 4 of our text. The passage now under discussion clearly restricts Subartu to the country west of the Zagros proper, since several lands in the latter region are separately listed. This variation is another indication that our document is composite in origin.

¹⁰⁹ Gadd (*Fall of Nineveh*, pp. 19 f.) is, accordingly, mistaken in referring the allusions to the defeat of the Šubarî (late ethnic of *Subartu*)

Line 38 is very puzzling at first glance, but the difficulty may be plausibly, though perhaps not conclusively removed. Schroeder's *ĀṢ-ši*, for which he suggests *Ru^m-ši*, is highly improbable, and otherwise quite unknown. I would propose that the Assyrian scribe be credited with a very simple and natural error, that of mistaking two horizontal wedges arranged in a line (*HAL*) for a single one (*ĀṢ*); we should then read *Ḫalši*, the name of a well-known land in the north. In the Assyrian period, as Forrer has pointed out (pp. 112 ff.) *Ḫalšu* was the name of a district between Nineveh and Calah, with a capital of the same name, which he has plausibly identified with the extensive mounds of Selāmiyeh, north of Nimrūd, on the left bank of the Tigris. Forrer has also made it probable that *Ḫalšu* and *Barḫalšu* or *Barḫalzu*, which at all events lay in the same region, are the same. Since no other place of this name, meaning "Fortress," is known for northern Mesopotamia, the identification is very plausible. Its one boundary, *Labnanu*, I would identify provisionally with Mount Niblāni of the Boghazköi texts, which they place in Mitanni, east of the Euphrates. Weidner and Garstang identify it with the Nimrūd Dagh, which overlooks Lake Van from the west,¹¹⁰ but in this case we should expect mention of Lake Van itself. It is more likely that Mount Niblāni corresponds to the classical Mons Niphates, the Armenian Taurus which divided the valley of the Arsaias (Murad-su) from that of the Upper Tigris. The names *Niblāni* and *Lablāni* = *Lebanôn* seem to be confused in the Hittite texts because of the similarity of names. It is, in fact, quite likely that the names were originally identical, and have become distinct only through the operation of dissimilation (*Labnānu* and **Nablānu* both for *Lablānu*), in which case the name *Lebanôn* is not Semitic, after all. This would provide a good northwestern boundary for a *Ḫalšu* which occupied the region between the Tigris and Upper Zâb. For the eastern boundary we are left to conjecture, but here also a plausible one is available. The next line gives us the extent of Lullubi, but after Lullubi the land of Turukki is given, quite superfluously, it would

in the texts of Nabopolassar and Nabonidus exclusively to the war with the Ḫarranian state of Ašur-uballiṭ II. As hitherto believed by most scholars, *Subartu* is simply an archaic term for "Assyria"; Ašur-uballiṭ was still king of Assyria, of course.

¹¹⁰ See Weidner, *Boghazköi-Studien*, Heft 6, p. 77; Mayer and Garstang, *Index of Hittite Names*, I, 37.

seem, since otherwise only one land is mentioned in this list at a time. The solution is presumably that *Turukkî* has been accidentally shifted from the line above, where it should appear after *adî*; the transposition may have been made by a scribe who found that he lacked room in line 38 for *Turukkî*, which he inserted therefore at the end of the next line, just as we do in a similar case. The *Turukkî* or *Turuqqi* are mentioned in the date formula of the thirty-seventh year of Hammurabi along with the *Kakmi* (*Turuqqum Kakmum*) as having invaded Babylonia from the direction of Subartu.¹¹¹ In the time of Sargon II of Assyria, the *Kakmi* are said to be at enmity with their neighbors the *Mannâ'a*, south of Lake Urumiyeh. We may, therefore, place the *Turukkî* and *Kakmi* both in the northwestern Zagros, which represented the eastern boundary of *Ḫalšu*. The latter was then the name of the northern part of Assyria proper in an earlier age, probably in the third millennium, as we shall see. The capital of the same name may have then held the position which later fell to Calah. The extension of *Ḫalšu* is given as *120 bêrê*, a figure which would suit the boundaries suggested very well.

Line 38 brings us to Lullubi in the Central Zagros, which needs no further discussion. The ninety *bêrê* allowed it, if correct, point to an area approximating that of the three Assyrian provinces of *Zamua-Lullume*, *Ḫalman* and *Parsua*, an extent which is very reasonable, since the kingdom of Lullubi must have been very respectable, and such a monarch as Annubanini certainly ruled over at least this much territory. We have previously located *Tukriš* north of *Ellipi* in the region of *Ḫarḫar*; we may now provisionally include *Namar* (*Namri*)-*Bit-Ḫamban* in its borders as well, since *Namar* can hardly have been included in Lullubi. The fact that *Tukriš* was invaded by *Šamši-Adad I* of Assyria (see above) agrees well with such a westward extension. We thus have a continuous series from north to south: *Ḫalšu*, (*Turukkî*), Lullubi, *Tukriš*, *Marḫaši*, and *Elam*. Lullubi and *Elam* are the only names which appear also in the first list in our tablet.

To conclude this series we have *Anzan* with an extent of ninety *bêrê*. We have above identified *Anzan* with the region east of *Elam*, but it probably only later extended so far as to include the district of *Persepolis* and *Pasargadae*, where the Persian state arose.

¹¹¹ See Langdon, *Weld-Blundell Collection*, vol. II, p. 34; Landsberger, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

With line 41 the author of our commentary loses solid ground under his feet, and is forced to content himself with vague generalities. The lands mentioned are none the less interesting, however. Beyond the Upper Sea are located the two countries of *A-na-kù* and *Kap-ta-ra*. The Upper Sea unquestionably refers primarily to the Mediterranean, especially the Gulf of Issus, which is so close to the Upper Euphrates, according to the course of which the Assyrians saw a place as "upper" or "lower." It is quite likely that the Black Sea also played a rôle in the conception of the Upper Sea, nor should the Aegean be forgotten, since both seas were certainly known to the Mesopotamian merchants who traded in Asia Minor during the third millennium. Since exact geography never counted for much in ideas respecting distant lands, the Upper Sea was probably a kind of encircling ocean, the pendant to the Lower Sea, i. e., the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean.

The second of the two lands mentioned as being situated beyond the Upper Sea—Kaptara—has been independently identified by several scholars with the biblical Kaptôr, a combination which is so obviously unavoidable that no one seems to have cast any doubt upon it. A few years ago one might have identified Kaptara with Crete and not have encountered any opposition. Now the situation is more complex, since Kaptôr (Caphtor) has been located recently in Cilicia, Lycia, and, in fact, everywhere but in Crete, though the undercurrent in favor of Crete is still strong.¹¹² To the writer, the statement of the cuneiform text seems to be decisive; no district in Asia Minor can be said to lie beyond the Upper Sea. An identification with Cyprus, such as was formerly made because of the remote similarity in the names, is not excluded, but is made very improbable by other facts. Kaptara = Crete is rendered even more plausible if the writer's identification of Anaku with Greece is correct. At all events the civilization of the Minoan Age in Crete was so high that the Babylonian merchants of the third millennium must have been acquainted with it, and the more daring ones probably visited it.

A-na-KU^{KI} was first explained by Forrer (see above) as "Land of Tin" (or "Land of Lead"; both lead and tin were called *plumbum* in Latin and were generally considered to be varieties

¹¹² Cf. Hall, *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Ramsay*, p. 181, note.

of one metal by the ancients). The writer's suggested reading *A-na-mi^{K1}* is probably wrong,¹¹³ though it must be confessed that *a-na-kù* is a very unusual writing of the word *anâku*, "lead." Forrer's view that the "Land of Tin" is Southern Spain seems highly precarious, however, despite the location of the Babylonian Elysium there by Jensen and Haupt. As already noted above, we would identify it tentatively with Greece, for the following reasons. In the third millennium lead was the principal medium of exchange in the extended Accadian commerce of Asia Minor and Northern Mesopotamia, as we know from the Cappadocian Tablets and other early sources. There are sources of lead in Asia Minor, but the principal source continues to be Greece, which still derives a greater revenue from her lead mines than from any other metal product. The famous lead mines of Laurium go back, moreover, to the most ancient times.¹¹⁴

In the next line we turn from the Mediterranean to the Erythraean, where trouble begins. Two lands are mentioned as lying beyond the Lower Sea: Tilmun and Magan. The identification of the Babylonian Tilmun with the largest island of the Bahrein group, formerly called Uwâl, but now Samak or simply Bahrein, has often been doubted, but seems quite certain. The arguments have been recapitulated elsewhere; all evidence, literary, archæological and onomastic, converges irresistibly toward the identification.¹¹⁵ Cuneiform sources place Tilmun in the midst of the Lower Sea, thirty double-hours from the Babylonian coast. The archaeological discoveries of Durand,¹¹⁶ followed by Theodore Bent¹¹⁷ and Jouannin,¹¹⁸ have made it certain that Bahrein was the seat of an Early Babylonian culture where Enzag-Inzag, known from cuneiform sources as the chief god of Tilmun, was worshipped, and was, moreover, a Babylonian holy land, where countless thousands of honored dead were buried under the extraordinary sepulchral

¹¹³ See *JPOS* I, 191 f.

¹¹⁴ Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, vol. I, p. 347, quotes IIR 51, 12a-d as deriving lead from the (mines of) [H]arḫa and Mašgungunu. Were these mysterious mountains in Asia Minor or Greece? At all events they were remote from Mesopotamia.

¹¹⁵ Cf. *AJSL* XXXV, 182-5.

¹¹⁶ *JRAS*, 1880.

¹¹⁷ *Southern Arabia*, pp. 20-9.

¹¹⁸ *DEP* VIII, 149 ff.

tumuli which cover a large part of the area of the island. The Babylonian character of the objects found by Bent in the tumuli, and regarded by him as Phoenician, is now accepted. Nor is it strange that the Early Babylonians should have transported their corpses to be buried on the sacred soil of Tilmun, which was, according to one of the most popular theories, the original home of human culture and situated in the vicinity of Elysium. The onomastic argument is very strong. In addition to the often-cited Greek *Tylos*: *Tilwun* and Meissner's more recent discovery of the Syriac spelling *Tlwn* I may cite the name of the old capital of Uwâl = Tilmun, which Yâqût, on the authority of Naşr, gives as *Trm*.¹¹⁹ It is well known that the Persians pronounced *l* as *r*, turning *Babîlu* into *Babîru*, Pali *Baveru*, *Lulli* into *Luri-stan*, etc., etc. In the same way the Persians may have pronounced **Tilm* (disregarding the *un*, which could be easily misinterpreted as a case-ending, and recalling that Babylonian *m* does not always appear as *w* in the later development of place-names and loan-words) as *Trm*.

The localization of Magan is incomparably more difficult. This is not the place to discuss the whole intricate and perplexing question of Magan and Meluh, so we shall content ourselves with a few comments. The writer believes still that Magan was employed in Early Babylonian texts to designate Egypt and the surrounding country, especially the Eastern Desert and Sinai, while Meluh is a vaguer term applied to the Red Sea coast south of Magan, especially to the African side and its hinterland, referred to in Egyptian sources as *Pwnt* and in the Bible as Ophir.¹²⁰ There has been much discussion of these identifications, mostly in opposition, though there have not been lacking supporters, some of great significance. On the whole, the most popular theory just now is that of Kmoskó, Langdon and Landsberger, locating Magan and Meluh in the regions around the southern end of the Persian Gulf, especially 'Omân.¹²¹ Landsberger's statement of this theory is by far the most attractive, but he has not explained away the most serious

¹¹⁹ Cf. Wüstenfeld, *Bahrain und Jemama* (*Abh. d. Kön. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1874), p. 11.

¹²⁰ Cf. *JEA* VI, 89 ff.; VII, 80 ff.; *JAOS* 42, 317 ff.; *AJSL* XXXIX, 20 ff., 31; *JPOS* II, 113 f.

¹²¹ Kmosko, *ZA* XXXI, 61 ff.; Langdon, *JEA* VII, 143 f.; Landsberger, *op. cit.*, p. 217, n. 2.

difficulties in the way of this localization. The alabaster vases from the booty of Magan remain to vex the archaeologist, while Hall's discovery that the Early Babylonians imported quantities of Egyptian stone and gems, etc.,¹²² is at least suggestive. Such enthusiastic and successful merchants as the Early Babylonians must have had connections with Egypt; if Magan and Meluḥa never refer to Egypt, what was the cuneiform designation of the latter? As for the assumed sea-traffic with Egypt by sea, which has been ridiculed so much of late,¹²³ what shall we say of the Bedawīn who go to sea in wretched "dhows" and traverse the Indian Ocean from Bombay to Zanzibar? The Arab ships in which Basrah, 'Omān and Zanzibar acquired riches and renown throughout the Moslem world were not much better than the Babylonian barks, and the Malay barks in which the Malagasy people migrated over the whole extent of the Indian Ocean to settle in Madagascar, some thousands of years ago, were doubtless much worse. The Babylonians were certainly even better seamen than the Egyptians, whose naval enterprise in the third millennium B. C. we are only just learning to appreciate. Navigation in Babylonian rivers was by no means so safe as it was on the Nile; sudden storms and disastrous river-floods were everyday occurrences. The Babylonians who planned Ziusuddu's ark cannot be spoken of as unpractised sailors or untrained naval architects. It is very strange to say categorically that the trade winds were unknown until discovered by the Romans; the trade winds are unvarying natural phenomena with which every denizen of the Erythraean basin would be as familiar as with the seasons and the revolutions of the moon. The Romans indeed discovered them to the Mediterranean world, but they were naturally known to the Orientals long before.—According to Gudea, Cyl. A, col. 22, 24 ff., compared with Statue B, col. 7, 10 ff., etc., it required a year to bring stone from Magan, a fact which is hardly favorable to the localization of the latter near the mouth of the Persian Gulf.

As pointed out above, our text seems to identify Meluḥ with Egypt, a feature which led me formerly to place its redaction during the Sargonid age in Assyria, when Egypt and Ethiopia were

¹²² Hall, *JEA* IX, 190; *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. I, p. 583.

¹²³ So, for example, Price, *JAOS* 43, 46 ff.; Schoff, *Early Communications between China and the Mediterranean*, Philadelphia, 1921 (brochure), pp. 7-9.

often called Meluh in archaizing documents, perhaps because of the Ethiopian conquest. I have since seen that the text cannot have been compiled at such a late date, so the original difficulty arises again. Possibly it may turn out that Meluh is the early term for Africa, including originally both Egypt and the region of gold and spices to the south, while Magan is Southern Arabia, Ma'ân, as maintained by Hommel. There can be no doubt that this theory agrees remarkably well with the indications of the document before us, but the other difficulties which it raises are so serious that I do not yet see my way clear to surrendering my former view, which still seems to fit all the facts best. It may well be that the Babylonians themselves were hazy in their nomenclature, and confused the terms. Nor should we overlook the possibility, stressed by Landsberger and Langdon, that the terms *Magan* and *Meluh* received widely divergent interpretations at different periods.

After line 42 we apparently have a stop, line 43 beginning a new section. The text now introduces, perhaps from another source, a list of countries subdued by Sargon before the third year of his reign, if our interpretation is correct. The list begins with Anzan, probably Western Persis, as maintained above, and goes on to mention []ri, certainly not Mari, as first thought, *AMAR-[]* and *AMAR-SA-TAK-KI*. These names are wholly unknown, though we may tentatively refer them to the east or southeast, beyond Anzan. The slight similarity between *AMAR-SA-TAK* and the *Imrsk* of the Tuthmosis III list, no. 156, the name of a place in Syria or Northwestern Mesopotamia, is doubtless fortuitous. The sequence *īštu—adī* is not helpful at all here, or in the following lines, and may even be erroneously inserted in a list of countries supposed to have paid tribute to Sargon, or otherwise acknowledged his supremacy. In the next line, however, this sequence enables us to make a correction; the *adī* later in the line shows that there must have been an *īštu* at the beginning. Now, while the sign which now begins the line, *GAB*, looks very different in its Assyrian form from *TA = īštu*, the Early Babylonian forms of *GAB* and *TA* are almost identical, six wedges at the left of each having the same positions exactly, and the last vertical wedge at the right of *TA* corresponding to two oblique wedges in the vertical position at the right of *GAB*. We must, therefore, read *īštu LA-BI-KI*

adi []; *LA-BI-KI* is quite obscure, and one is tempted to read *Hal-la-bi^{KI}*, assuming that the *Hal* has dropped out, not that *GAB* is an error for *KUL*, as Schroeder seems to think. Should *Hallabi* be correct, however, it could not be the *Hallab* of Babylonia, but might possibly be the Syrian *Halab*, Aleppo, the name of which probably is originally identical. What Lullubi and Magan are doing in the same line is hard to imagine, and one has reason for believing that the text is in disorder.

The last line of our document is obviously not the end; our text remains, therefore a fragment. The first name is unfortunately damaged, but enough remains of the first sign to make [*B*]a-za the most plausible reading. There was a well-known Babylonian city called Baz, situated on or near the Tigris, but this cannot possibly be meant. There was also a land of Bazu, formerly identified with the biblical Bûz and localized in Arabia. Sidney Smith has recently shown that this Bazu, mentioned by Adad-nirari II and Esarhaddon, was situated not in Arabia, but in Media, and probably designates the region of Ardistan in west-central Persia, south of Teheran.¹²⁴ The next name is gone entirely. After it comes the enigmatic *U-du-ni-i*, which corresponds to the *Ri-du-ni-[i]* of line 1. There might be reasonable doubt regarding this equivalence if it were not for the obvious identity of the following phrases. Line 1 offers *ša ZAG-šu mât Me-luh-h[a]*; line 47 has *mi-šir-šu Me. ZAG*, of course, is to be read *mišru*, while the variation of *mât* and *KI* is explained by the fact that all the names in the first section are introduced by *mât*, but in the last section are followed by *KI*. The abbreviation of *Me-luh-ha^{KI}* to *Me* is evidently due to lack of space. Schroeder took *Mišir* to be a proper name, "Egypt," but this is out of the question. If *U-du-ni-i* is the correct reading, it must remain inexplicable; if *Ri-du-ni-i* is right one thinks at once of *Rînw*,¹²⁵ the Egyptian name of Palestine, but the equivalence of *t* and *d* remains peculiar, though not impossible, since we really know nothing of the pronunciation of *t* in the third millennium. But until the reading *Ri-du-ni-i* is proved,

¹²⁴ *Babylonian Historical Texts*, pp. 17 f. In his review of Olmstead's *History of Assyria* Smith had not yet reached this view fully, so his remarks there (*JEA* X, 72 f.) may be considered as superseded.

¹²⁵ On *Rînw* cf. now especially Alt, "Ein Reich von Lydda," *Zeit. d. Deutsch. Pal. Ver.* XLVII (1924), pp. 169 ff.

this suggestion must remain a mere possibility, not to be seriously considered.

We have now finished our geographical commentary on the text, whose vast importance must be evident to all. We are now ready to consider its date and significance. The many errors and transpositions prove that it has been copied often and carelessly; the confusion between the Old Babylonian cursive forms of *GAB* and *TA* (line 46) shows that the prototype of the last section was written in the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon. Consideration of the names leads to the same conclusion. Of 65 different adequately preserved names of lands and cities, 21 are unknown, 22 are mentioned in the cuneiform sources before 2500 B. C., 15 occur first in sources of the age 2500-1800 B. C., 4 do not appear until 1800-1000 B. C., and 3 are first mentioned after 1000 B. C. Not a single name bears a form known to be late, while some of the unknown places bear names like (*Bit*)-*Šarrugina* which are obviously early. In fact the only name which seriously arouses suspicion is *Emutbal*, but, as pointed out above, Landsberger's theory that *Emutbal* is the name of an "East-Canaanite" tribe which settled in Western Elam is very improbable. As observed above, the geographical terminology employed in lines 33 ff. is distinctly less archaic in appearance than that used in lines 1-30. Probably we shall not be far wrong in the following view of the origin of our text. The inscriptions of Sargon and Narām-Sin were copied and recopied during the third millennium, as known from the collections of the Nippur libraries, from the archives of Boghazköi, and the library of Ašurbānapal. In the process glosses and errors naturally crept in. Meanwhile, the Sargon cycle of romances developed and enjoyed a wide popularity, which led to the writing down of such epics as *šar tamḫari*, where popular legend was embellished with learned citations from the corpus of Sargon texts. Finally there arose elaborate commentaries on this literature, one of which we have before us. I would refer it to the same circles of erudite productivity as those which are familiar to us from the Nippur discoveries, and date its first compilation roughly in the Isin Dynasty, between 2300 and 2100 according to Fotheringham's chronology.

In the following translation we have tried to restore the original order of the text, in so far as such reconstruction has seemed to be

required by topographical or textual exigency. In every case the defense of the reconstruction will be found in the detailed commentary above. Where a rearrangement is apparently an improvement, but does not seem to be demanded by the context, it has not been introduced into the translation. The latter is, therefore, as conservative as possible without being hopelessly illogical. It does not, however, agree exactly with the transcription given at the beginning of the paper, a fact which explains why it has appeared desirable to separate transliteration and translation.

1. [] and the land of Riduni, which borders on
Meluhḫa,
[the land] of the Cedar [Mountain,] the land of
Ḫanû—nine kings.
[From - - - -] to Anzan, the land of Subartu.

- [- - - - bringing] tribute, bearing gifts to Sargon ;
5. [To Sargon, king] of the world, bring [contri]butions, bring
them !

- [From - - - -] on the bank of the river Euphrates [to]
Zubru, the land of Mâri.
[From Zubru to] Yabušê, the land of Rapiqu.
[From - - - -] to Maškan-šarri, the land of Aššur.
[The road of the] river Tigris and river Euphrates.
10. [From - - -]ḫa to Lubdu, the land of Arrapha.
The road of the Upper and Lower Zâb Rivers.
From Uruna to Šinu(?), the land of Lullubî.
From Šinu(?) to [] the land of Armanî.
From []izzat to Abul-Adad, the land of Gutium.
15. From Abul-Adad to Ḫallab, the land of Akkad.
From Ḫallab to []milunî, the land of Lagaš.
From Šurbu to Ibrat, the land of Niqqu.
From Ibrat to []pa(ḫat)tum, the land of Dêr.
From [- - -]b to the Sea, the men of [- -]umta.
20. From Pa() to Mangišu, the land of *ERIM*.
From Ḫišt to Sippar, the land of Akkad.
From Tirqan of Gutium to Uzarilulu, the land of Edamarus.
From Uzarilulu to Bît-Šin, the land of Marî.
From Bît-Šin to Maškan-šabrî, the land of Malgî.
25. From Bît-Šarrukîn to Mê[- -] the land of Emutbal.

- From Bit-ḥubba to Raḥabût, the land of [].
 From Bit-*GAB-GAL* to Eriyaba, the land of [].
 From Durgu to the river *KUR-RA*, the land of Mutiabal.
 From Abul-šurrikki to Dimtu, the land of Šumer.
30. 120 double-hours from the Euphrates barrage to the border of
 the land of Meluḥḥa, the land of Amurru, which borders
 on Mâri,—
 Which Sargon, king of the world, when the land [as far as(?)]
 the horizon(?)¹²⁶ of heaven with *šubbulu*¹²⁷ he over-
 whelmed,
 - - - - -
-
- 40 double hours—extent of the land of Parašî.
 60 double hours—extent of the land of Tukriš.
35. 90 double hours—extent of the land of Elam.
 180 double hours—extent of the land of Akkad.
 120 double hours—extent of the land of Subartu.
 120 double hours—extent of the land of Ḫaššu from Labnanu
 to Turukkî.
 90 double hours—extent of the land of Lullubî.
40. 90 double hours—extent of the land of Anzan.
 The Land of Lead, Kaptara, lands beyond the Upper Sea.
 Tilmun, Maganna, lands beyond the Lower Sea.
 And the lands from sunrise to sunset,
 Which Sargon, king of the world, conquered up to his third
 (year?).
45. From Anzan to []ri, *AMAR*[- -], *AMAR-ŠA-TAK*
 From [- -]lab to [- - -], Lul(1)ubi, - - -
 Baza(?), [- - - -] and the land of Uduni(?) which
 borders on Meluḥḥa.

After the foregoing paper had been nearly completed, the writer saw Sayce's short article on "The Atlas of the Empire of Sargon

¹²⁶ The expression *siḥip šamē* is obscure; one thinks of *siḥip mâtî*, parallel with *naphar mâtî*, "totality of the land." "Horizon" is a rather desperate effort.

¹²⁷ The obscure word *šubbulu* looks like the causative infinitive of *nabûlu*, "destroy," but this would not yield a very satisfactory meaning. The whole passage is evidently corrupt, and the following line would appear to have been quite illegible when copied by the cuneiform scribe.

of Akkad," in *Ancient Egypt*, 1924. Sayce offers only a translation with a brief commentary, to which Petrie has added a map and some additional remarks. We have not been able to accept a single suggestion of these scholars. The extent of the divergence may be characterized sufficiently by reproducing Sayce's rendering of lines 29-32:

29. From the gate of Talbis to the Plain (Padan-Aram) is the land of the Amorite, whose frontiers are Bit-Sin (Harran) and Sumer.
30. 120 *bêri* is the length of the road from the storage-lake of the Euphrates to the frontier of Melukhkha and Bit-Sin (Harran).
31. Which Sargon king of the world, when he explored (*iqlip*) the land where the sky is low, a place of terror, measured as its high (literally broad) way.

[During the time which has elapsed between the writing of the paper and the reading of the proofs (May, 1925), some new material has come to hand. Note especially Meissner's brief discussion of our text in *Babylonien und Assyrien*, vol. II, p. 377. He renders *adi III-šu* in line 44 "dreimal." Frankfort's brilliant proof of Babylonian sea-traffic with the Red Sea coast of Egypt in the end of the pre-dynastic period (*Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East I*, London, 1924, pp. 138-142) furnishes welcome corroboration of my views on the subject of Magan and Meluh. I hope shortly to reënter the lists on behalf of them.—W. F. A.]

THE DOCTRINE OF METEMPSYCHOSIS IN MANICHAËISM

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THE FACT THAT Mānī taught the doctrine of metempsychosis, in one form or another, is clear from the old non-Manichæan writings that relate to his religion and from the actual Manichæan documents discovered in recent years. Mānī's own animistic conception of the particles of light as diffused through all sentient nature in his dualistic scheme of the universe, and as requiring to be restored to their original celestial abode, would of itself favor the supposition of some such progressive process and purgation by which this liberation was gradually to be accomplished.

We are well acquainted in Mānī's eschatological system with the final stages of the revolving course which, by way of the Column of Praise (Milky Way) and the circle of the Zodiac, brought the light elements of the purified soul to the Moon and the Sun, whence they were ultimately delivered into the domain of the Supreme Light. Evidence enough is at hand concerning all this, including the role played by the Elect in releasing particles of light contained in the food which they ate.¹ The implication throughout is that of an evolving and involved process. But the preliminary stages, as affecting the soul, need to be re-examined in view of the new material now available.²

Mānī's long sojourn in the East through exile would have pre-disposed his mind to some form of the metempsychosis idea in case he did not have a notion of it before. The Indian tincture in his belief, like Gnosticism, led him to look upon the body as a place of imprisonment for the spirit; nevertheless the body might serve also as a medium through which, in passing, the temporarily incarcerated light could eventually find its way to freedom. Now, while it seems clear that Mānī's conception of the subject allowed for an

¹ The references to this latter point are familiar, and there is no occasion to speak about the disagreeable allusion made by St. Augustine, *De Haeresibus*, ch. 46, ed. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* vol. 42 (8), col. 36.

² A chapter in my forthcoming book on Manichæism is devoted to Eschatology: the Fate of the Soul and the End of the World.

immediate release and restoration of the light in the case of the soul that was wholly pure, there was involved in the case of imperfect or of corrupt souls a transformation or transmutation of the light elements by passing again through matter. The word 'Transfusion' is the term employed by the Greek in rendering this particular idea of his.³ In any event it appears certain that the mass of his followers accepted this belief in the ordinary sense of the transmigration of souls, if we can adopt for convenience such a subtle distinction between the terms metempsychosis and transmigration. Whatever else may be involved in the question, we must always keep in mind that Mānī denied any final resurrection of the body as a corporeal entity.⁴

As already intimated, the Manichaean doctrine of the soul, and of its lot hereafter, recognized a division of mankind into three classes—Elect, Hearers, and Sinners—classified according to the predominance of their characteristics as highly spiritual, psychically human, or basely material, thus answering to the threefold division familiar in Indian philosophy and Gnostic thought.⁵

A comprehensive study of the subject will show that the Elect were destined at once to enjoy bliss eternal. The Hearers, or lay auditors, were entitled to attain to beatitude in a less degree ('the second form'), but only after passing through some renewed state of existence, wherein advance also was possible toward gaining ultimate sanctification. Obdurate sinners were fated to live again in the material world of torment and then doomed to final perdition. But even in their case, unless inveterate, it seems that some chance for betterment through repentance and atonement in the allotted life was not altogether excluded.

The material upon which these deductions are based is collected, as previously stated, from the old sources relating to Manichaeism and from the Manichaean documents themselves. For practical

³ For references to this term *μεταγγισμός, μεταγγιζέσθαι* (cf. the Latin version *transfunditur*) and the other designations, see the Greek and Latin texts cited below.

⁴ A discussion of the term *ristāwēz*, 'resurrection of the dead,' as found in certain Turfan Pahlavi Fragments, is reserved for presentation elsewhere.

⁵ Compare Skt. *sattva, rajas, tamas* and the Gnostic terms Pneumatic, Psychic, Hylie. On this point cf. also P. Alfarié, *Les Écritures Manichéennes*, 2. 50.

reasons it has been found convenient to give first (1) the Muhamadan data on the subject, then (2) the Christian references, and finally (3) the evidence gathered from the extant Manichaean remains. We may begin with the allusions in the Arabic account of Manichaeism by an-Nadīm.

1. Statements by Muhammadan writers on the subject.

(a). An-Nadīm in his *Fihrist* (987 A. D.) gives a picture of the threefold lot already referred to as awaiting the souls of the Elect, the Hearers, and the Sinners. The immediate beatitude of the Elect is assured, and there is no need here to quote the passage relating to their destiny. In the case of the two latter classes, however, some form of rebirth is involved, as is shown by the following passages concerning their respective fates. The statements are given by an-Nadīm directly on Mānī's authority, and (omitting some preliminary items that are not essential to the matter in question) the two passages may be translated literally as follows⁸ :—

(Lot of the Hearer) . . . 'The Gods will save him (i. e. the Auditor) from the demons, but he will not cease to be⁹ in the world like a man who sees terrible things⁸ in his sleep, and he will sink down into the mire and slime⁹ [of the pollution of the world]. Thus will he continue until his light and his spirit become freed. He will then join the assembly of the righteous (Elect) and put on their robe after the long period of his roaming (i. e. transmigration).'

(Lot of the Sinner.) . . . 'He will continue wandering in torment in the world until the Time of the End, when he will be cast into Hell.'¹⁰

⁸ For help with the Arabic I am indebted to my assistant, Dr. Abraham Yohannan, and to my colleague Professor Richard Gottheil of Columbia University.

⁹ That is, 'will continue to be.'

⁸ The allusion both here and below to 'terrible things' probably recalls in a lesser degree those experienced in advance by the Sinner, as referred to in the *Fihrist*, p. 101, with n. 298 end, and narrated in detail in two Turkish fragments, ed. by Le Coq in *Türk. Manichaica*, 2, p. 11-13.

⁹ Arab. *ṭīn*, 'mire, slime, clay.'

¹⁰ *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, *Mānī*, p. 70-71 (text), 101 (transl.).

A little farther on, the Fihrist quotes Mānī as summing up 'the three ways' of the Elect, the Hearers, and the Sinners, the first being to Paradise, the second 'to the world and to terrible things,' the third (ultimately) 'to Hell.'¹¹ The whole account, therefore, shows that the Auditor must continue his existence once more, submerged in another life and afflicted with terrible dreams, until, 'after the long period of his roaming,' he is found fit to put on the robe and to assume at last 'the second form,'¹² or that particular degree of felicity which is his due. Inveterate Sinners are not only doomed to 'wandering in torment in the world,' but are ultimately consigned to damnation in hell. In the case of both, the Fihrist implies the doctrine of metempsychosis without going into more particular details than those here indicated.¹³

(b). The famous al-Bīrūnī (1000 A. D.) in his *India* ascribes Mānī's doctrine of metempsychosis directly to Hindu influence, even quoting from Mānī's Book of Mysteries, for he says:—

'When Mānī was banished from Ērānshahr, he went to India, learned metempsychosis from the Hindus, and transferred it into his own system. He (Mānī) says in his Book of Mysteries: "Since the Apostles [i. e. his

¹¹ See Fihrist, p. 71, 101. For "terrible things" see above, note 8.

¹² For the 'second form' (*aṣ-ṣurat ath-thāniyyat*) see Fihrist, ed. Flügel, p. 64, line 1 (text), p. 95, line 14 (transl.), with notes 215, 295, 346. The Auditors are alluded to as the 'second grade' in St. Augustine, *De Moribus Manich.* ch. 18 § 65 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* vol. 32, col. 1373 top).

¹³ It is important to record in this connection that Kessler, *Mani*, p. 357 n. 1, in commenting upon the later passage cited below from Barhebraeus (13th century), maintained that Mānī taught rather a distribution of light-particles in all living creatures, and that this cosmological thesis of his was later transformed into an eschatological one after the analogy of the Indian dogma. Kessler (p. 362 n. 2) was inclined to emphasize that Mānī did not teach real transmigration (i. e. the wandering of souls from body to body, as in the Brahmanic, Buddhistic, and Pythagorean systems), but that, according to Mānī, the departed souls remained disembodied, and that only imaginative terrors in the form of horrid visions tormented the souls of those not yet purified (so especially in interpreting the Fihrist account). But Kessler did concede that, as early as the *Acta Archelai*, Turbo makes out of this an actual transmigration in the eschatological sense; and he admits that later the Manichaeans actually believed in metempsychosis as popularly conceived.

followers] knew that the souls are immortal, and that in their migrations they array themselves in every form, and that they are shaped into every animal, and are cast in the mould of every figure,¹⁴ they asked the Messiah [i. e. Mānī]¹⁵ what would be the end of those souls which did not receive the truth nor learn the origin of their existence.¹⁶ Whereupon he said: 'Any weak soul which has not received all that belongs to her in truth perishes without any rest or bliss.' By "perishing" Mānī means her being punished, not her total disappearance.¹⁷

(c). Shāhpūr ibn Ṭāhīr of Isfarā'in, Persia (or, in full, Abū'l-Muẓaffar Shāhpūr ibn Ṭāhīr ibn Muḥammad al-Isfarā'inī), who died in 1078 A. D., includes, in his Arabic work on the sects, the name of Mānī as among those who believe in transmigration of souls, stating in effect that according to Mānī,

¹⁴ Dr. George C. O. Haas calls my attention to the parallel conception of Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15. 169-172, reporting the thought of Pythagoras:

Utque novis facilis signatur cera figuris,
nec manet ut fuerat, nec formas servat easdem,
sed tamen ipsa eadem est, animam sic semper eandem
esse, sed in varias doceo migrare figuras.

¹⁵ The designation Messiah appears to be applied to Mānī also in a Turkish Manichaean fragment, Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3, p. 11, Nr. 6, 2, and must certainly denote him in the TPhl. Hymn Book *Maḥrnāmag*, ll. 358, 255 (ed. Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 26, 20), although elsewhere in these texts it is generally confined to Jesus as may be noted amid the glorification of Mānī in the *Maḥrnāmag*, line 438, 'we offer praise unto thee, Jesus Messiah' (*Yišō' mašīh*, ed. Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 28). The transference of the term in Manichaeism can be easily understood.

¹⁶ We have here an allusion to non-Manichaeans, or to those who refused to accept the religion. This interpretation receives support from two Turkish Manichaean fragments (see Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3, p. 6 top, p. 7 top), which refer to the punishment of evil-doers because of their unbelief: 'Since they have not known the beneficent God, they will writhe (?) and burn in Hell.'

¹⁷ Albīrūnī, *India*, transl. E. C. Sachau, 2d ed., p. 54-55, London, 1911. Al-Bīrūnī, (loc. cit.) continues this paragraph by quoting a brief passage from some other part of Mānī's writings, in which Mānī controverts the view of Bardesanes, who regarded the soul as rising and being purified in the body, whereas the body is really nothing more than a prison for the soul.

'The souls of the Pious (Elect), when they have abandoned their bodies, unite with the Glory of the Dawn¹⁸ in order to reach the Light which is above the Sphere of Heaven. And the spirits of those who are involved in error¹⁹ enter into the bodies of animals and pass continuously from one animal into another until they are purified of their sin; whereupon they [also] become united with the Light above the Heavenly Sphere.'²⁰

(d). The late Persian writer al-Majdī (16th century?)²¹ recognized among the Manichaean sects one that was called *Tanāsukhiyya*, or 'Believers in Metempsychosis.' The name applied to this sect is derived from the Arabic word *tanāsukhī*, which is found also in Persian, as designating a person who holds the doctrine of metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls.²²

¹⁸ This designation for the Manichaean Column of Praise (Milky Way) is found also elsewhere.

¹⁹ The reference is to imperfect Auditors and to Sinners. The concluding line of the paragraph here rendered appears to imply the possibility of salvation ultimately for sinners that repent. Considerable support can be given for such a view.

²⁰ Tāhir al-Isfarā'īnī, fol. 62, cited by Haarbrücker, *Asch-Schahrastani*, 2. 422, cf. p. 378; see also Wesendonk, *Die Lehre des Mani*, p. 36 n. 2. As Isfarā'īnī's text is not available in print, existing only in manuscript, I have had to rely on Haarbrücker's version of this passage. No other work by Shāhpūr Tāhir Isfarā'īnī is extant. He died July 14, 1078 A. D. (471 A. H.), see Hajji Khalfa, ed. Flügel, 2. 173, cf. Haarbrücker, 2. 378. Consult also Brockelmann, *Gesch. Arab. Litt.* 1. 387; Ahlwardt, *Kat. Arab. Mss.* 2. 682 (Ms. no. 280); de Slane, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, p. 279 (Ms. no. 1452). His work on the Sects of Islam is thought by some to be a résumé of al-Baghdādī, see Mrs. K. C. Seelye, *Moslem Sects*, p. 10. (Thanks are due to Professor Gottheil.)

²¹ Presumably this is Majd-ad-dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī, whose poetic name was Majdī and who wrote in 1595 (A. H. 1004) a collective work, containing also historical notices, under Shāh 'Abbās, see Ethé in *Grundr. iran. Philol.* 2. 332-333.

²² See Hyde, *Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers.*, 1st ed., p. 282, Oxford, 1700; cited also by Kessler, p. 363 n. For Arab.-Pers. *tanāsukhī*, cf. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 326. Also for the prevalence later of the doctrine of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*) among the ultra-Shī'ite sects of the Persians, see especially Browne, *Lit. Hist. Persia*, 1. 279, 311, 320, 328 (with quotations from Shahrastānī and Ibn Khallikān).

If it should be objected that the oldest of these Muhammadan allusions dates only from shortly before 1000 A. D., we can point out that the statements in the *Fihrist* (987 A. D.) are based directly on Mānī's authority. Not only that, but we can at once adduce far earlier sources, the Christian non-Manichaean writers, whose testimony is in exactly the same tone and is even more explicit. The statements of these authors, including also Barhebraeus, will next be presented.

2. References by Christian anti-Manichaean writers.

(e). Earliest among the Christian controversialists to mention this doctrine, and in a very explicit way, is Hegemonius in his *Acta Archelai* (§ 10), in the first part of the fourth century A. D. This author portrays in detail how those who have committed sin (Hearers, or Auditors, being equally involved) are 'transfused into five bodies,' including the various forms of animal and plant life. The description in the *Acta*, purporting to record the words of Mānī's disciple Turbo in his exposition to Marcellus, reads as follows:—

α. 'I shall tell you also this, how the soul is transfused into five bodies.²³ First of all some small portion of it is purified²⁴; then it is transfused into the body of a dog, or a camel, or some other animal. But if it be a soul that has committed murder, it is transferred²⁵ into the bodies of lepers²⁶; and if it has been

²³ Gk. μεταγγίζεται ἡ ψυχὴ εἰς πέντε σώματα; Lat. version, *animae in alia corpora transfunduntur*. The Manichaean five-fold division of living things into men, animals, birds, fish, creeping things is well known and is mentioned again at the end of this passage. See also Augustine, *Epist. Fund.* 28 (31) and 31 (34); idem, *De Haeres.* 46; likewise the Turkish Manichaean document Khuastuanift, ll. 79-84, cf. ll. 60-61, transl. Le Coq, *JRAS*, 1911, p. 286-287; compare further the references given below under Chinese and Turkish.

²⁴ Lit. 'is cleansed from it; then [its unpurified part] is transfused' etc. Gk. καθαρίζεται . . . μεταγγίζεται; Lat. version, *purgatur . . . transfunditur*.

²⁵ Gk. μεταφέρεται, Lat. *transfunditur*.

²⁶ Gk. κελεφῶν, Lat. *elephantiacorum*. Salmond, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 6. p. 184 n. 7, observes that κελεφος (thus accented) occurs in ecclesiastical writers in the sense of 'leper.' Therefore adopted. Less satisfactory is the emendation κελυφῶν, 'Schalptiere' (testaceous animals), referred to by

found to have engaged in reaping, (it is transferred) into the dumb.²⁷ . . . ²⁸ Moreover, the reapers who reap are likened to the Princes (Archons) who have been in Darkness from the beginning, when they devoured some of the panoply of the First Man²⁹; on which account there is a necessity for these to be transfused³⁰ into hay, or beans, or barley, or grain, or vegetables, in order that they may be reaped and cut. And again, if anyone eats bread, he must needs become bread and himself be eaten. If one shall kill a chicken, he will be a chicken. If one shall kill a mouse, he himself will also be a mouse. If, again, one is rich in this world, and if he goes forth from his tabernacle (of the flesh), he must needs be transfused³¹ into the body of a beggar, so as himself to go about asking alms, and after that to return to everlasting punishment. Moreover, as this body is of the Princes (Archons of Darkness) and of Matter, it is necessary that he who plants a *persea*³² should pass through³³ many bodies until that *persea* is laid low. And if one builds a house for himself, he will be scattered about into all the bodies.³⁴ If one bathes, he congeals his soul into water.³⁵ Also, if any-

F. C. Baur, *Manich. Religionssystem*, p. 319 n. 46. For philological data to show that the word means lepers see now W. Bang, *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 5 (1925), p. 41-48.

²⁷ Gk. *μογγιλάλους*, 'hardly speaking, talking with an impediment, dumb'; Latin version, *mutos*. Their lot accords with the non-sentient life into which they are transformed by way of retribution.

²⁸ A short sentence here gives the designations of the soul as 'intelligence, reflection, prudence, consideration, reasoning.'

²⁹ Reference is here made to the familiar legend in Manichaean cosmogony.

³⁰ Gk. *μεταγγισθῆναι*, Lat. *transfundi*.

³¹ Gk. *μεταγγισθῆναι*, but Lat. *inici*.

³² An Egyptian tree with the fruit growing from the stem.

³³ Gk. *διελθεῖν*; Lat. version, *transire*.

³⁴ Gk. *διασπαρχθήσεται εἰς τὰ ὅλα σώματα*; Lat. *dispergetur per omnia corpora*.

³⁵ The Greek has *εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ πῆσσει*, while the Lat. version, following an inferior reading *πλήσσει*, renders by *vulnerat*. The Manichaean observances regarding (ritual) washing will be discussed elsewhere.

one does not give to his Elect (the alms of) piety,³⁶ he will be punished in the Hells,³⁷ and will be transformed³⁸ into the bodies of Catechumens (Auditors) until he shall give many (alms of) piety; and for this reason they offer to the Elect whatever is best in their food. . . .³⁹ Also if one walks about upon the ground, he hurts the earth, and when he moves his hand he hurts the air, since the air is the soul (life) of men and of animals, and of winged creatures, fish, and creeping things.⁴⁰ And as to every one existing in this world, I have told you that this body of his is not of God but of Matter, and is itself Darkness and must needs be cast into Darkness.⁴¹

β. Another passage in the *Acta Archelai*, § 11 (10). 2, which is wholly in harmony with the Manichæan doctrine of the future life and the punishment of sinners by rebirth, similarly records that, after enduring hell torments, the soul of unbelievers is again 'transfused into bodies' as a means of further castigation and finally consumed in the Great Fire at the end of the world. The text cited runs thus:—

'And if the soul goes out without having known the Truth, it is given over to the demons so that they may bring it into subjection in the Hells of fire; and after the disciplining it is transfused into bodies in order that it may be [wholly] subdued, and in this manner it is cast into the Great Fire until the Consummation.'⁴²

³⁶ Gk. *εὐσεβείαν*, 'pious observance,' which the Latin version correctly interprets by *alimenta* as food given by the Auditors to support the Elect.

³⁷ Gk. *εἰς τὰς γέεννας*, which the Latin version correctly understands (cf. 11. 2, below) as *poenis subdetur Gehennae*, 'will suffer the pains of Hell.' A less good Gk. reading is *γενεάς*, 'for generations.'

³⁸ Gk. *μετεσσωματοῦται*, Lat. *transformatur*.

³⁹ A half dozen lines are here omitted from the translation of the Greek, because dealing simply with the prayer offered by the Elect on receiving bread (as if a substance endowed with feeling) and the blessing bestowed upon the Auditor for the gift.

⁴⁰ The familiar doctrine in Manichæism that all nature is sentient.

⁴¹ Gk. *σκοτωθῆναι*, Lat. *obscurari*.—For the text of this passage, *Acta Archelai*, 10 (9), see the edition of Beeson, p. 15-17.

⁴² Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, 11 (10), 2, ed. Beeson, p. 18. Further

The testimony so clearly given above by the author of the *Acta Archelai* proves beyond a doubt that the doctrine was current as Manichaeism early in the fourth century, not long after Mānī's death, and was certainly accepted in the popular mind as that of ordinary transmigration.

(f). Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem (c. 315-386 A. D.), in his *Catechetical Lectures* (6. 31, end), repeats with some variation the idea of the *Acta Archelai*, which he knew; but he may have had further information besides, because he mentions (just before) in this section the Gospel of Thomas, who was one of Mānī's well-known disciples. Cyril says of the Manichaeans:—

‘They teach that whoever plucks up this or that plant is changed into that itself.’⁴³ For if the one who crops a plant or any of the vegetables is transformed into that, into how many will husbandmen and the tribe of gardeners be changed? ⁴⁴ The gardener, as we saw, has used his sickle upon so many; into which sort, then, is he transformed? Truly, their doctrines are ridiculous and full of condemnation and shame. The same man, who is a shepherd of a flock, both sacrifices a sheep and kills a wolf; into which is he transformed? Many men have caught fish and have snared birds; into which, then, are they changed?’⁴⁵

(g). Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis (writing about 374 A. D.), includes in his Greek work *Panarion* (*Haeres.* 66. 28) the passage quoted above from *Acta Archelai*, § 10; and again in the same work (*Haeres.* 66. 55) he argues at some length against Mānī's views about metempsychosis, beginning thus:—

details concerning this important passage will be found in the volume on Manichaeism which the writer has in preparation. For help in connection with the Greek and Latin passages here assembled I am indebted to my fellow-worker Dr. Charles J. Ogden.

⁴³ Gk. μεταβάλλεται. Throughout the passage, the verb ‘change, transform,’ is used (in pres. and fut.).

⁴⁴ Cf. *Acta Archelai*, 10 (9). 2, 4, quoted above, p. 253.

⁴⁵ Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses*, 6. 31 end, ed. Migne, *Patr. Gr.* vol. 33, col. 596 A; cf. also tr. E. H. Gifford, *NPV Fathers*, 2d ser., vol. 7, p. 42, New York, 1894; Germ. tr. by Nirschl, p. 145, Kempten, 1871.

‘He (Mānī) sets forth the doctrine of the transfusion of souls (μεταγγισμὸς ψυχῶν) from bodies into bodies.’
[Discussion follows to show the absurdity of the idea.]⁴⁶

(h). Titus of Bostra (writing bet. 363 and 378 A. D.)⁴⁷ was evidently familiar with Mānī’s doctrine on this point, as is clear from a reference in the Syriac text of his controversial work (4.19), where he uses the technical Manichaean term ‘transfusion of souls’ (Syr. *tašpik^hā d^enap^hšāt^hā*). He is arguing in this section against Mānī for having adopted and adapted earlier dogmas. Reference is made first to Xenophon as recording the Persian doctrine of the Two Principles, next to Aristotle on Matter (ἐλγ), which term Mānī changed to Evil, and then to Plato for metempsychosis. In the latter case the Syriac word employed (*tašpik^hā*, lit. ‘a pouring’ from one vessel into another = ‘transfusion’) is the exact equivalent for the Manichaean designation which is elsewhere rendered into Greek by μεταγγισμός (cf. Fr. ‘envasement’ and Eng. ‘decanting’). The statement from which this inference can be drawn runs:—

‘But Plato erroneously taught in terms more clear
[than Mānī] the transfusion of souls (*tašpik^hā d^enap^hšāt^hā*).’⁴⁸

The whole context of the passage shows that the testimony of Titus can be added to the list of witnesses for proving the currency of the metempsychosis doctrine among the early Manichaeans.

(i). Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus (c. 386-457?), is likewise worth citing, since his well-known Epitome of Heretical Fables (written after 451) has the following pertinent statement concerning the belief of the Manichaeans:—

⁴⁶ Epiphanius, *Haeres.* 66. 55, ed. Migne, *Patr. Gr.* vol. 42, col. 112; cf. also Alfarić, *L’Évolution intellectuelle de Saint Augustin*, p. 153 n. 4.

⁴⁷ For the dates see A. Baumstark, *Gesch. Syr. Lit.* p. 60, Bonn, 1922, where B. observes that the original Greek of Titus is to be dated shortly after 363 A. D. and the Syriac translation within the decades immediately following.

⁴⁸ See the Syriac of Titus of Bostra, *Contra Manichaeos Libri Quatuor Syriace*, ed. Lagarde, p. 138, line 13, Berlin, 1859. The hint for this passage I owe to Mr. W. McCulloch Thomson, formerly a student at Columbia University.

'They (i. e. the Manichaeans) reject the resurrection of the body as a myth, for they do not consider any part of matter as worthy of salvation. They say that there are transincorporations of souls,⁴⁹ and that some are sent down (καταπέμπεσθαι) into the bodies of birds, some into those of domestic animals, some into those of wild beasts and creeping things. They regard all things as possessed of souls—fire and water and air and plants and seeds. For which reason the so-called Perfect (Elect, τέλειοι) among them do not break bread or cut a vegetable, but cry out against those who do so as manifestly murderers. But, all the same, they eat what has been cut and broken.'⁵⁰

(j). Saint Augustine (400 A. D.) has several important allusions to the doctrine. In his animadversions against Faustus and the Manichaeans he refers to the threefold lot that awaits respectively the souls of Sinners, Hearers, and the Elect, which involves passing through other cycles in the case of the two former, according to Mānī's teachings.

a. 'Concerning the souls of the dead you tell us that (1) the wicked souls [of Sinners], or (2) those [of Hearers] that are purified in a minor degree are going either into revolving changes (*in revolutiones ire*)⁵¹ or into some punishments still more severe.⁵² On the

⁴⁹ Gk. ψυχῶν μετεσσωματώσεις, 're-embodiments of souls.'

⁵⁰ Theodoret, *Haeret. Fab. Compendium*, 1. 26, ed. Migne, *Patr. Gr.* vol. 83, col. 380 C. For this reference thanks are due to my pupil Mr. Ralph Marcus.

⁵¹ Observe that Augustine uses this expression technically, as also the terms *revolvi*, *revolutionem* below (and similarly *redire*, *revertantur*, *rerursus nascantur*) to indicate the rebirth of the soul in some form or other by passing through a revolving change or cycle in its course. This particular expression conveys the idea that corresponds to the Indian doctrine of *samsāra*, or the ceaseless round of birth and death. It savors of Brahmanism and Buddhism. A similar term in Manichaean Turkish is found in the Turkish Fragment quoted below, p. 265 n. 71a.

⁵² Here the distributive Lat. *aut . . . aut* might seem to apply the 'revolving changes' to the Hearers, and the 'more severe punishments' to the Sinners; but not necessarily. Punishment in a new birth formed part of the castigation of Sinners in addition to their other tortures.

other hand, (3) the good souls [of the Elect] are placed in the ships [Sun and Moon] and, sailing in heaven, pass over hence into that phantasmal Earth of Light for which they died fighting.’⁵³

β. Again in the same work Augustine states that the most that the Auditors can hope for is to shorten their wanderings by being reborn as Elect, or, even better, as vegetables to be used as food by those sainted ones.

‘Because ye promise to them (i. e. the Hearers) not a resurrection, but a revolving change (*revolutionem*) to this mortal existence (*ad istam mortalitatem*), with the result that they shall be born again (*rursus nascantur*) and live the life of your Elect—so vain, foolish, and sacrilegious—which you yourselves live and are greatly praised for; or if they are more deserving, they shall enter into (*in . . . veniant*) melons and cucumbers, or some other articles of food which you are going to eat, so that they may quickly be purified by your digestion (lit. belchings).’⁵⁴

γ. Augustine also makes, in his work on the Heresies, a like statement about the Manichaeans:—

‘They believe that the souls of their Auditors pass in their cycle into the Elect (*in Electos revolvi*) or, by an abridgement still more happy, into the food (*escas*) of their Elect, so that straightway being purified they will not return (*revertantur*) thence into any bodies. But the other souls (i. e. of Sinners) they think go back (*redire*) both into beasts and into all things that are fixed by roots and nourished in the earth.’⁵⁵

⁵³ Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, 20. 21, ed. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* vol. 42, col. 384; cf. also Flügel, p. 349.

⁵⁴ Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, 5. 10, ed. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* vol. 42, col. 226; cf. Baur, *Das manich. Relig.* p. 318.

⁵⁵ Augustine, *De Haeresibus*, 46, ed. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* vol. 42, col. 37. Cf. also Flügel, p. 349, 350. Observe that, in the Manichaean system throughout, insentient plant life is regarded as standing on a higher plane than active animal life; see Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, 5. 10 (9), quoted just above, and compare the Turkish citation below (p. 264) from Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1, p. 8-9.

8. Augustine, in refuting Adimantus, assails the Manichaeans on the score of their belief in transmigration, which gives them so much anxiety about animals. The passage reads:—

‘Because they are extremely concerned about the souls of beasts—for although the souls of men are endowed with reason, they nevertheless think that these pass in their cycle (*revolvi*) into beasts—[therefore] they believe that the realms of the heavens are closed to their own selves if they agree that these are closed to the souls of beasts.’⁵⁶

c. Augustine furthermore points out, in refuting Adimantus, that the Manichaeans find themselves involved in a dilemma when it comes to the question of souls being destined to pass into the bodies of the smaller animals. Thus:—

‘They deny that human souls can pass in their cycle (*revolvi*) so far as to [become] very small animals. They are hard pressed [to explain] why a human soul can pass (*revolvi*) into a little fox, but not into a weasel, when the cub of a little fox may possibly be even smaller than a large weasel. They do not manage to find out where to draw the line.’⁵⁷

The very fact that St. Augustine, a former Manichaean, fully recognized the transmigration doctrine as current and characteristic, shows that it must have been thoroughly established and widely diffused in his time, as it doubtless was from the beginning.

(k). Secundinus, a Manichaean Auditor at Rome (c. 405 A. D.), who wrote in a friendly manner to St. Augustine urging him to return to the religion of Mānī, gives further testimony on the subject of metempsychosis in Manichaeism by an incidental allusion in his *Epistola ad Augustinum*, § 5. In this letter to the Church Father the Manichaean devotee emphasizes the idea that the real Jesus was not born of woman, and subtly reminds the quondam Manichaean of the metempsychosis doctrine in these words:—

⁵⁶ Augustine, *Contra Adimantum*, ch. 12. 1, ed. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* vol. 42, col. 143-144; cf. also Baur, p. 318.

⁵⁷ Augustine, *Contra Adimantum*, ch. 12. 2, ed. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* vol. 42, col. 144; cf. also Baur, p. 319.

‘Cease, I beg you, to shut up Christ in the womb, lest you yourself be shut up again in a womb (*desine, quaeso, utero claudere Christum, ne ipse utero rursum concludaris*).’⁵⁸

(1). The Greek Formula of Abjuration (9th century A. D.) exacts of the convert to Christianity a repudiation of Mānī’s doctrine of metempsychosis:—

‘I anathematize those who teach metempsychosis (*μετεμψύχωσιν*), which they themselves call transfusion ((*μεταγγισμὸν*) of souls, and who assume that the plants, herbs, water, and all the other things are endowed with souls (*ἐμψυχα*).’⁵⁹

(m). Photius (c. 820-891 A. D.), Patriarch of Constantinople, recognizes, on the authority of the Manichaean Agapius, Mānī’s threefold division of the lots of mankind through metempsychosis in the case of Elect, Hearers, and Sinners,⁶⁰ because he says:—

‘(Mānī) affirms the doctrine of metempsychosis, (1) resolving into God those who have attained to the extreme point (*ἄκρον*) of virtue (i. e. the Elect), and (2) consigning (ultimately) to fire and darkness those Sinners who have reached the utmost point (*ἑσχατον*) of wickedness; but (3) bringing again into bodily forms (*σώματα*) those (Hearers) who have governed their lives in a middling fashion.’⁶¹

(n). Barhebraeus (1226-1286), a Christianized Jew known also under the Arabic name of Abū’l-Faraj, has a statement in his Syriac Ecclesiastical Chronicle that should be repeated in this connection, since he reiterates it also in the Arabic translation that he made of his own work, toward the end of his life, under the title Epitome of Dynasties. After recording Mānī’s doctrines regard-

⁵⁸ See Secundinus, *Epist. ad Aug.* 5, ed. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* vol. 42, col. 576 top. Cf. also Alfarié, *L’Évolution intellectuelle de Saint Augustin*, p. 153 n. 4, and p. 88.

⁵⁹ Gk. Formula, § 9, cf. Kesaler, *Mani*, p. 404 (text), 362 (transl.); Migne, *Patr. Gr.* vol. 1, col. 1465 B.

⁶⁰ See above, page 247.

⁶¹ Photius, *Bibl. Cod.* 179, ed. Migne, *Patr. Gr.* vol. 103, col. 524-525 D-A; see also Baur, p. 317; and cf. Flügel, p. 349.

ing the ships of the sun and the moon, etc., as a means for releasing the imprisoned light, Barhebraeus says in the Syriac:—

‘Together with these things he (Mānī) taught also the transference (Syr. *šūnāi*) of souls from bodies to bodies, and that everything — earth and water — has a soul.’ [His version (later) into Arabic is substantially the same.]⁶²

The testimony of these various Christian writers, combined with the statements of the Muhammadan authors cited above, is sufficient to prove that the doctrine of metempsychosis was current from the earliest times in Western Manichaeism, and was by no means confined to Manichaeism in the East, where, as will now be shown, it was equally in vogue, probably fostered also by a congenial Buddhistic atmosphere.⁶³

3. Allusions in the extant Manichaean documents themselves.

In the Manichaean documents themselves, as now available in fragmentary or in fuller form, we find corroborative evidence for the doctrine of metempsychosis in Manichaeism. This evidence will now be presented in conclusion.

(o). The oft-quoted Chinese Manichaean Treatise describes the Demon of Hate, the Master of Greed, as having created the two sexes, male and female, in imitation of the sun and the moon, ‘in order to deceive and confuse the Luminous Nature’ by involving it in the miseries of birth and rebirth.

a. ‘So as to cause it (i. e. the Luminous Nature) to embark on the Ships of Darkness and to send it down to

⁶² For the Syriac text of Barhebraeus see Abbeloos and Lamy, *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Eccles.* 1, p. 61, Louvain, 1872; for the Arabic see Pockocke, p. 131, transl. in Kessler, *Mani*, p. 357. In this connection thanks are due to Dr. A. Yohannan.

⁶³ See furthermore the conclusion below, p. 268. In the brochure of O. G. von Wesendonk, *Lehre des Mani*, p. 35 n. 4, 36 n. end, Leipzig, 1922, it is correctly pointed out, with reference to recent writers who have touched on the subject (E. Kuhn, B. van Eysinga, R. Garbe), that emphasis should be laid on the Hellenistic-Roman atmosphere of Mānī’s surroundings, due to his birth in Babylonia at that time, irrespective of his long sojourn in the Orient.

the Hells (lit. 'underground prisons') to return in a circle in the five ways,⁶⁴ and to experience all the sufferings from which it is extremely difficult to be released.'⁶⁵

β. In an incidental reference found in another Chinese work (Text xlix), which is of quite different origin and polemical in its allusions to Manichaeism, the Manichaean Elect are quoted as claiming to be exempt from the obligation of rebirth and to pass directly to beatitude, since they assert:—

'We do not go through another life; we pass directly [to beatitude].'⁶⁶

γ. Furthermore the Chinese Manichaean Treatise, near its end, includes Mān's promise to those who faithfully follow his teachings, to the effect that—

'All these [faithful] beings who have bodies shall be delivered from life and death and shall go definitively, victorious forever, into the region of immutable felicity.'⁶⁷

This phrase 'from life and death' receives further significance

⁶⁴ This special Chinese phrase, which implies 'turning as a wheel' (Buddhistic), is interesting and to be compared with St. Augustine's *revolvi, revolutio* (cited above, p. 257 n. 51); compare also the Turkish designation (*täg-*) below, p. 265 n. 71a. Chavannes and Pelliot (*JA*, 1911, p. 533 n. 4) give as a literal rendering of the phrase 'revenir en cercle dans les cinq voies' = 'transmigrât dans les cinq conditions d'existence'; and they naturally make a reference to the five *gatis* in Buddhism (see also above, p. 252 n. 23, and cf. p. 263-264). Somewhat different in its bearing, although to be noted in connection with the general idea as being a means of deliverance, is the Chinese designation of the Zodiac as the 'wheel of revolutions,' ('la roue des révolutions'), see *JA*, 1911, p. 515, 526, 555; *JA*, 1913, p. 102, 136 n., also p. 104 n. 1 § 2°.

⁶⁵ For this passage see *JA*, 1911, p. 533-534, with the notes by Chavannes and Pelliot. I have had the advantage of conferring likewise with my Chinese pupil Mr. Ti-Shan Hsü, thanks to whom are expressed elsewhere in connection with Chinese Manichaean texts.

⁶⁶ See Text xlix, in Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA*, 1913, p. 361, with n. 2. More lit. (according to Mr. Hsü): 'We do not travel along the other ways; we pass by the direct one.' Regarding the immediate beatitude of the Elect in Manichaeism, see above, p. 248(a).

⁶⁷ See Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA*, 1911, p. 585. Compare likewise (with possible Buddhistic tinge) 'la mer de la vie et de la mort,' *JA*, 1911, p. 531-532.

in the light of the citations below from the Turfan Pahlavi and Turkish Fragments.

3. As a supplement there may be quoted a passage in a non-Manichaeic book of the tenth century which possibly alludes to this doctrine in Manichaeism. This passage (while it may be more Buddhistic than Manichaeic) is found in vol. 107 of the T'ai-Ping Kwang Chi, compiled in 977 A. D., and reads as follows:—

‘Wu K'e-Chiu, a native of the Yueh (Chikiang) Province, emigrated from his native city to Ch'ang-An (the capital) in the fifteenth year of Yuan-Ho (820 A. D.) of the T'ang Dynasty. He believed in Manichaeism, and his wife Wang followed him (in this). More than a year later his wife died suddenly. Three years went by, and the wife appeared to her husband in a dream and said: “I believed in a heresy and have become a snake at the foot of the Stupa at Hwang-Tze P'o (Prince's Slope); and tomorrow morning I have to die (again). I hope that you can invite some Buddhist priests to go there and recite the Chin-Kang Ching, and all the suffering will be extinguished.” This caused K'e-Chiu to return to the Buddha and constantly to recite the Chin-Kang Ching.’⁶⁸

(p). The Turkish Manichaeic Fragments furnish further support in regard to metempsychosis. The references here noted in particular are drawn from a Turkish book relating to the Auditors (T. II, D. 173, called by Le Coq a ‘Buchrest’ or ‘Doppelbuchblatt,’ cf. *Türk. Man.* 1, p. 3, *Türk. Man.* 3, p. 11). They all occur in a parable which, presumably, Mānī is expounding, and combined they show that the doctrine of metempsychosis is involved in the discourse.

a. The first (T. II, D. 173 a 1, recto, lines 4-9) contains at least an implication of the transference of the soul into animal bodies:—

‘Just as if a lamb or a calf, changing its body, should be born again, turning into a young lion or a young

⁶⁸ I am indebted to my student Mr. Ti-Shan Hsü (A. M., Columbia University, 1924) for this reference and the translation from the Chinese.

wolf, (and) then devour and destroy herds, cattle, and sheep—.' ⁶⁹

β. The second, a few lines farther on (T. II, D. 173 a 1, recto, lines 18-20 and verso, lines 1-3), continues with a more explicit reference to rebirth, especially into plant and tree life, as the exposition further says:—

'He (Mānī?) thus explained that men previously, through (or from) the Five Gods, were born in the five kinds of plants and trees; and through (from) the five kinds of plants and trees they were born in this senseless body.' ⁷⁰

γ. The third allusion is found on the very next leaf of the same Turkish text (T. II, D. 173, a 2, recto). In this section is implied the misery involved in Metempsychosis until cessation is obtained through the Faith which brings joyous union with the Father. The significant lines are:

⁶⁹ Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1, p. 8, lines 4-9. Cf. also Scheftelowitz, *Die Entstehung der manich. Religion*, p. 84, 41. See now likewise Bang, *Muséon*, 36. 239, n. 3, for a similar interpretation of the parallel passage (*Türk. Man.* 1, p. 18) as denoting metempsychosis.

⁷⁰ See Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1, p. 8-9. The Turkish word *utru* (*ötrü*) has been rendered above as 'through' (or 'from'), see Bang, *Muséon*, 38. 12-13; Le Coq suggested doubtfully 'hindurch (!)'. The meaning adopted, however, sufficiently fits in with the idea of passing through successive rebirths. In the sequence of advance, however, we must remember that ideally, in the Manichaean conception, plant life stood on a higher plane in theory than active animal life, see above, p. 258 n. 55, and below, p. 266 n. 76. It will be noticed in my rendering of the Turkish I have followed Le Coq (op. cit.) in translating *bis türüg ida iyaēda* as 'the five kinds of plants and trees' particularly because of the parallel in the *Khuastuanift*, l. 60 and l. 316, 'the five kinds of herbs and trees' (*ootqa iyaēqa*, Le Coq, *JRAS.* 1911, p. 286, 298; cf. also Bang, *Le Muséon*, 36. p. 151, 167). As for the idea of a rebirth on earth in the various species of the vegetable kingdom sufficient evidence has already been given by the quotations made from the *Acta Archelai* (see above, p. 253), Cyril (cf. p. 255), Theodoret (cf. n. 50) and Augustine (notes 54, 55). Of similar import is the citation below from a Turfan Pahlavi Fragment (see n. 74 below, and cf. n. 76). In this general connection, moreover, we may recall that Theodore bar Khoni (tr. Pognon, p. 191; Cumont, p. 40) tells how the sin which fell from the Archons and came to the dry part of earth 'germinated into five trees.' It therefore seems certain that our Turkish passage here refers to transmigration into ordinary plants and trees. The whole context is against understanding them to be the (primordial) Trees of Death as does Bang, *Muséon*, 38. p. 13.

‘Now, our Gracious Father, our Beneficent Prince, countless myriads of years have elapsed since we have been separated from Thee (ll. 2-6).’ . . . ‘We wish to forget the torments that we endured during the long time (ll. 17-19).’⁷¹

δ. The fourth instance, furnished by another passage in the remnants of the same Turkish book (T. II, D. 173 b, 2 verso, lines 8-19), is wholly convincing. In this particular passage special allusion is made to different sorts of Hearers, the ascent of their souls to the Zodiac and progress in their cycle, and to their ‘changing into another body,’ ascending or descending. The lines in question read as follows:—

‘The Auditors are not all alike, one to another. And there are complete Hearers, and there are such as are well-intentioned, and there are such as love the Law. And the ascending of their souls to the Zodiac, the transforming,⁷² and their changing into another body—their ascent and [de]scent is not a single change. And there are many (of these things) that differ with one another, just as in the case of Sinful Men there are heavy (and) light fetters, shackles, and chains.’⁷³

ε. In this same connection with the idea of metempsychosis there may probably be cited likewise another reference found in the Turkish Confession Prayer (lines 116-117). In this passage the Hearer penitently asks forgiveness for sins committed ‘in a former body or in this body.’⁷⁴

⁷¹ Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1, p. 10-11 (ll. 2-6; 17-19). The passage is taken similarly by Scheftelowitz, *Die Entstehung*, p. 82.

⁷² Le Coq (*Türk. Man.* 3, p. 12) renders *t(ā)g(i)lmāk* by ‘Einherrollen.’ This term in Turkish evidently denotes the Indian *samsāra*, see above p. 257 n. 51, where comment is made on St. Augustine’s *revolutio, revolvi* as conveying the same idea. Recall also the Chinese expression noted above, p. 264 n. 64.

⁷³ See Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3, p. 12.

⁷⁴ See Le Coq, *Chuastuanift* (Germ. ed.), p. 14, lines 11-12, ‘in (einem) früheren Körper oder in diesem Körper.’ But in commenting upon this clause (p. 31 n. 17) Le Coq interprets the allusion as denoting the ‘old man’ and the ‘new man,’ and refers to Baur, p. 271 (cf. above, p. 000). He appears to have had that same idea before, as conveyed by his earlier English translation (*JRAS*, 1911, p. 288, lines 117-118) ‘in our first self

ζ. For a supplementary Turkish allusion to 'enduring the torment of life and death' (*tuḡa ölü ämgänür*, see Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3, p. 29, Nr. 12. 10-11), consult the next section (q a, β), relating to the Turfan Pahlavi passages.

(q). Turning finally to the Turfan Pahlavi documents, we may find some slight additional data to combine with the material already presented.

a. For example, the first line of one of the hymns in the Manichaean Hymnbook *Maḥrnāmag* (line 298) is listed alphabetically as having begun thus:—

az franapt aḥēm ūrvar—
'I proceeded as a plant—'⁷⁴

While we may acknowledge that it is not wholly satisfactory to draw deductions from a mere table of first lines in a hymnal, when the hymn in question has not been preserved, nevertheless the metempsychosis idea is certainly involved in the phrase *franapt . . . ūrvar*, 'went forth as a plant.'⁷⁵ That stage in the cycle has already been proved to have been fully recognized, as shown by the quotations from the Turkish and from St. Augustine above (p. 264 n. 70), and its analogy is found later in Sūfiism.⁷⁶

(or) in this self.' Radloff, *Chuastuanit*, p. 31 n. 40, St. Petersburg, 1909, evidently had in advance the same idea in general as Le Coq, but admitted the possibility ('vielleicht') that the phrase might mean 'in einer früheren Existenz,' adding that the whole passage requires further consideration. Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA*, 1911, p. 535 n. 3, rather favor Le Coq, it would appear. Nevertheless, in view of the evidence already adduced, I am strongly inclined to maintain that the reference is to metempsychosis. —I have since found new support in the fact that Scheftelowitz, *Entstehung*, p. 41, is likewise of the same opinion as that here upheld. [Later note.—Consult Bang, *Muséon*, 36. 198-200, who seems to have had difficulty with the passage, but inclines to agree with Le Coq; cf. also in *Muséon*, 38. 13.]

⁷⁴ Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt* (Maḥrnāmag), p. 22.

⁷⁵ For the etymology of *franapt*, see Bartholomae, *Zum AirWb.* p. 64 n.

⁷⁶ For the Sūfī idea of metempsychosis and the ladder of evolution (mineral, plant, animal, man), see the well-known verses of Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī, tr. Browne, *Pers. Lit. under Tatar Dominion* (3), p. 217-218; P. Horn, *Gesch. Pers. Litt.* p. 163; compare likewise Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, p. 168; idem, *Divānī Shamsī Tabriz*, p. 47, 49; also S. M. Iqbal, *Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, p. 41, 42, 117.

β. In the light of the material presented, it seems not impossible to interpret the word *zādmūrd* in a Turfan Pahlavi passage (repeated again) as an allusion to rebirth. The word in question occurs first in a prayer addressed to Mānī, together with Jesus, in which—if rightly translated—the faithful devotee reiterates the supplication:—

‘Release thou my soul from this birth (and) death,
release my soul from this birth (and) death.’⁷⁷

The same appeal, in almost identical words, recurs in another passage where the prayer is combinedly addressed to Mithra, Jesus, the Maiden of Light, and Mānī.⁷⁸ In both these instances, as stated, the matter rests upon whether a dogmatic or a general interpretation is to be given to the word *zādmūrd*, lit. ‘born-dead,’ ‘being born, being dead.’ In view of the data assembled above from the Chinese (esp. § γ) and from the Turkish (§ ζ), it seems justifiable to understand this as implying the recurrence of ‘birth and death,’ taking the term like a Sanskrit dual, for which there is good support in later Persian.⁷⁹

γ. Lastly, we have the authority of Professor F. W. K. Müller for believing that the expression ‘emanation of Mānī’ in another Turfan Pahlavi Fragment, T. II, D. 135, line 17, is to be associated with the Manichaean idea of transfusion of souls. In this piece an Uigurian Khan, who was a patron of Manichaeism, is spoken of as an ‘emanation of Mānī’—*zahag ‘i Mānī*.⁸⁰ Müller’s

⁷⁷ M. 311 verso, lines 13-16 (= Mü. 2, p. 67), *bōžā man ravān aš ‘imty zādmūrdā, bōž man ravān aš ‘im zādmūrd*.

⁷⁸ See M. 38 verso, lines 6-9 (= Mü. 2, p. 77); the variants are insignificant.

⁷⁹ Müller, *loc. cit.*, renders *zādmūrd* by ‘Geboren-Tot (sein).’ Salemann, *Man. Stud.* 1. 78, remarks: ‘scheint einen dogmatischen begriff zu bezeichnen, das irdische leben des leiblichen menschen, der geboren wird um zugleich dem tode verfallen zu sein.’ Observe that in the Chinese Manichaean Treatise, *JA*, 1911, p. 531-532, we find a reference (with possible Buddhistic coloring) to ‘la mer de la vie et de la mort’; see p. 262 and n. 67 above.—Examples of such ‘dvandva’ compounds can readily be cited in later Persian, cf. NP. *šabān-rōz* ‘night and day,’ *šusta-rufta* ‘washed and scoured’ (= ‘cleanliness’), etc.; see Horn, in *Grundr. iran. Philol.* 1. 2, p. 195-196.

⁸⁰ See Müller, ‘Der Hofstaat eines Uiguren-Königs,’ in *Festschrift Vilhelm Thomsen*, p. 208; see particularly Müller’s references (p. 209 n. 2) regard-

footnote (*op. cit.* p. 209 n. 2) particularly points out that the honorific epithet 'emanation' (*zahag*) would be in harmony with the Manichæan conception of such a transmission of the spirit.

Conclusion.

In summing up, we may say that the combined evidence tends to support the view that the doctrine of metempsychosis (even in the cruder form of transmigration, if we may make such a distinction in terms) was a recognized dogma both in Western and in Eastern Manichæism.⁸¹ We are justified, moreover, in believing that Mānī himself made this dogma a special tenet in his religious teaching by inculcating that retribution through some form of rebirth was in store for less faithful Auditors and for all Sinners, the Elect alone being exempt.

Mānī may have derived the idea in the first place from Hellenistic concepts current in Mesopotamia before his banishment to India and Central Asia. Evidence for the view that he taught the doctrine early in his career is furnished by the fact that, according to the *Fihrist*,⁸² three chapters of his book *Shābūrqān*, dedicated to King Shāpūr, dealt with the respective fates of Hearers, Elect, and Sinners in a manner that must have corresponded closely with the account preserved in the *Fihrist* itself, where Mānī's own authority is directly quoted.⁸³ In any event his long sojourn in the East (including Hindustan, according to tradition) would certainly have fostered the development of any incipient ideas held on the subject, particularly as Indian ideas were then current in Central Asia, and would have aided him in giving further impetus to the inclusion of the doctrine among the principal tenets of his faith.

ing the employment of *zahag*, 'emanation'; consult likewise Müller's *Uigurica*, 2, p. 95, and his *Doppelblatt*, p. 5.

⁸¹ Consult again Baur, p. 317-321; Flügel, p. 348-350.

⁸² *Fihrist*, tr. Flügel, p. 103, iv; also Kessler, p. 180-181 (noting the correction to 'Electi,' p. 181 n. 1); cf. likewise Alfarić, *Les Écritures manichéennes*, 2. 50.

⁸³ See Flügel, p. 100-101.

THE AḤIRĀM INSCRIPTION OF BYBLOS

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THE DISCOVERY of a very ancient and important Phoenician royal inscription, in the course of the French excavations at Byblos (O.T. Gebal, modern Jebeil), has aroused great interest among Semitic scholars. While M. Pierre Montet was exploring in 1923 a series of tombs the dates of which extend backward as far as the twelfth Egyptian dynasty, in opening a tomb of the time of Rameses II he came upon a most important find. Halfway down the shaft was found a brief inscription in archaic Phoenician characters cut in the wall; half a dozen words only, the meaning of which is more or less problematic; see below. The tomb-chamber at the bottom contained a large sarcophagus, which proved to be that of a king of Byblos named Aḥirām. It bears a Phoenician inscription of some length, composed by the king's son Pilles(?) - Baal.

The date, the 13th century B. C. is assured, and the inscription thus antedates by some four hundred years the oldest writing in the North Semitic alphabet whose age had hitherto been known. In the form of the characters there is nothing essentially new, nor is there any uncertainty in the manner of their execution. One receives the impression of a form of writing which has already been in use for a considerable time. The formulas of the inscription also are plainly those of a literary language. The dialect is essentially the classical Phoenician already known to us, but there are some new and interesting features, as well as some uncertainties. If I am not mistaken, there is evidence of Assyrian influence in both the vocabulary and the contents of the documents.

The inscription was published, with translation and commentary, by René Dussaud in the periodical *Syria*, vol. V (1924), pp. 135-157. It has also been discussed by Lidzbarski in the *Nachrichten der Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1924, pp. 43-47. I have seen no other publication of it. My own interpretation, which here follows, was made independently, from the photographs in Dussaud's article.

The inscription is in two lines, the first ending with the word כעלם, the second, on another surface of the sarcophagus, including all the remainder. For convenience I have divided the lines in the facsimile, which is made from the photographs of squeezes published by Dussaud.

The characters are clearly cut and well preserved except at two points. The last letter of the penultimate word in the first line is partially obliterated, but the remaining traces and the context suffice to establish it with certainty. The first half of the name of the author of the inscription, Ahīrām's son—the second word in the first line—is only partially preserved. At the close of the gap appear distinct traces of a character which, it seems to me, could only be \square . I find that this is also Dussaud's reading. Lidzbarski prefers \mathfrak{N} , but the cross stands too low in the line to render this reading probable. Moreover, I think that a portion of the middle crossbar of the \square can be seen in the photograph. In order to fill the space immediately preceding, two characters seem necessary, one would hardly suffice. Since we are reduced to conjecture it is obviously preferable to hold to name-elements already known, especially since the tradition of proper names is so constant; and since both פלס and בעלפלס are well known as Phoenician names I had no hesitation in restoring פלסבעל here. For the probable meaning of the name, see below.

The only other point at which there can be uncertainty as to the reading is at the very end of the inscription, the character preceding the final letter. M. Montet's copy (reproduced in Dussaud's article) gave it as \mathfrak{B} , while Dussaud and Lidzbarski suppose it to be \mathfrak{r} . According to the photograph it might be either. If we compare the characters of this inscription only, the resemblance to \mathfrak{r} is certainly closer than that to \mathfrak{B} ; and yet there is no example of the former which shows the curve of the shaft which we see here. Observe also the \mathfrak{B} in the inscription on the wall of the tomb-shaft (Dussaud, p. 143).

The words of the inscription are generally separated by a short perpendicular line, which however, is employed somewhat inconsistently, as the transliteration will show. The text reads as follows:

ארן | ו פעל |] | פלסבעל | בן | אחרם | מלך | גבל |
 לאחרם | אבה | כשתה | בעלם |
 ואל | מלך | במלכם | וסכן | כס[כ] | נם | ותמא |
 מתנת | עלי | גבל | ויגל | ארן | זון | תחתסך | חטר |
 משפטה | תחתסך | כסא | מלכה | ונחת | תברה |
 על | גבל | והא | ימח ספרו | לפף | שבל |

This I would render in the following manner:

This sarcophagus made Pilles(?)—Baal, son of Akhīrām king of Gebal, for Akhīrām his father, when he laid him away forever.

And to any king among kings, or governor among governors, or military commander over Gebal, who has uncovered this sarcophagus (it is said): The scepter of his rule shall be broken, the throne of his dominion shall be overturned, and peace shall flee from Gebal, if he shall destroy this inscription, cover it over or deface it.

Dussaud renders as follows:

[Ipphe]s ba'al, fils d'Aḥiram, roi de Gebal, a fait ce sarcophage pour Aḥiram, son père, comme sa demeure pour l'éternité.

Et s'(il est) un roi parmi les rois, ou un gouverneur parmi les gouverneurs, qui dresse le camp contre Gebal et qui découvre ce sarcophage sous le dallage, Ḥaṭor (sera) son juge: le trône de son roi se renversa et la destruction fondra sur Gebal tandis que lui (le profanateur) effacera cette inscription à l'entrée(?) de l'Hadès(?).

Lidzbarski renders:

Diesen Sarkophag hat machen lassen Ethba'al(?), Sohn des Aḥirām, König von Gebal, für seinen Vater Aḥirām. Hier setzte er ihn hin für die Ewigkeit.

Bei Gott! Sollte ein König unter den Königen, ein Statthalter unter den Statthaltern oder wer ein Heerlager über Gebal befehligt, diesen Sarkophag blosslegen, so zerbreche das Szepter seiner Richtergewalt, es stürze um der Thron seiner Königsherrschaft, und der Friede fliehe von Gebal. Und wer diese Inschrift auslöschen wird,

.....

For the usage illustrated in אֲרִין , "this sarcophagus," without the definite article, see below.—For the meaning of the element פֶּלֶם in Phoenician proper names we have only Hebrew and Assyrian usage to compare. The former yields some slight probability in favor of the *pi'el* stem, but gives little or no help as to the meaning. "To make the way even, unobstructed," is not the most likely signification here. (The Lexicon of Gesenius-Buhl has: "Phoen. *den Weg ebnen*, Lidz. 351," but this is a mistake, since the only source of Lidzbarski's rendering is the Hebrew dictionary.) The Assyrian verb is common, in the *nif'al* stem, with the meaning "look upon with favor, kindness, mercy," used of the attitude of a god or goddess toward a human worshipper. It is this meaning, doubtless, that appears as an element in such names as בעל־פֶּלֶם.

The occurrence of the full form אֲחִירָם, instead of the usual

abbreviation, is interesting. Cf. *חִירָם* for *חִירָאֵל* for *חִירָאֵל* (or 'יח), *חמלכת* for 'אחמ', *Ḥādavū* for *Aḥādavū* (Nöldeke, *Beiträge*, 95), etc. Dussaud is strangely led astray by the various transcriptions of the Phoenician pronunciation of *חִירָם* "Hiram," and thinks of two distinct names, *Aḥīrām* and *Ḥīrōm*, from different roots. With the Greek *Εἰραμος* compare however *Ἄδωδος* (Philo Biblius) for the god Hadad, and interpret the other transcriptions accordingly.

The appearance here of *ה* as the suffix of the third pers. sing. masc., in *אברה*, *בשחה*, *משפטה*, and *מלכה*, is interesting. Thus also in the *Meša'* inscription. How this pronominal suffix was pronounced, we have not the means of knowing.—In *בשחה*, the first element of the compound is, I think, the conjunction *כִּי*, "when," used as in 2 Sam. 7: 1; 19: 26, and many other passages in the O.T. in which *כִּי* is precisely interchangeable with *כַּאֲשֶׁר* and equivalent to Aramaic *כּוּי*, *כּוּי*, *כּוּי*. The same use appears in the *Bod-Astart* inscription *CIS. I*, 4, line 3, where *כבן* is equivalent to *כִּה*, *כאשר בנה*. Lidzbarski proposes to read in both passages *כִּה*, "here," a reading which to me seems very improbable.

עלם instead of *לעלם* is noticeable. May it not be that *עלם* here is a popular abbreviation of *עלם*, "tomb"?

The warning, introduced by *וְיֹאֵל*, 'to any king, governor, or military commander,' etc., corresponds to the more rhetorical 'מי את כל ממלכת וכל אדם ונו', 'Whoever thou art, royal or other personage,' etc., in *Ešmunazar*, *Byblos*, *Tabnīth*, and several other inscriptions. I believe that the previous translators of the inscription have gone astray at this point because of failure to understand the euphemistic use of the third person, instead of the second person, in the direct address ("The scepter of *his* rule," etc., meaning "The scepter of *thy* rule"). I have called attention in more than one place (see *ZAW.*, XXVI, 81 ff.) to the current misunderstanding of the last clause in the *Tabnīth* inscription because of the unexpected use of the third person, instead of the second, *where the curse is uttered*, precisely as in the present case and in still others. When this conventional usage is taken into account, the wording of this line and those which follow is perfectly natural and without difficulty of any sort.

In *בס[כ]נם* the *כ* was accidentally omitted. Otherwise, the execution of the inscription appears to be faultless.

The word **תמא** occurs here for the first time. It is probably the *gattāl* form, **תמא**, from a verb which is the equivalent of the Assyrian *tamū* (a secondary root, from *amū*), "speak"; thus in its origin corresponding to Arabic *amīr*, "commander," and similar words. The verb *tamū* is ancient in the Assyro-Babylonian speech, and it seems likely that we have here an instance of borrowing by the Phoenicians.

There is no obvious reason why **עלי גבל** should be written in one line and **על גבל** in the next, but it is interesting to know that the writer had the older form at his option. In the second occurrence we have a good example of the use of **על** as the preposition of disadvantage.

וַיִּגְלֵ אֶרֶן ז means: "who shall have uncovered (i. e., discovered) this sarcophagus," the consec. imperf. standing in place of the simple perfect **גִּלָּה**. From the point of view of Hebrew style the latter construction would be regular. The phrase corresponds to **ז אֲשֶׁ תִפְסֵק אִיתָ הָאֶרֶן ז**, "who shall find¹ this sarcophagus," in the Tabnīth inscription.

תחתפך and **תחתפך** are stems with infixed *t*, corresponding to the similar forms in Meša' 11, 15, 19, 32, and probably **תַּלְלַן** in Kalamu 10 (cf. Assy. *ittallak*). This way of reading the words, the one which first suggests itself, I felt obliged to discard, on the ground that **תשר** and **כסא** are both invariably *masculine* in Heb., Aram., and Syriac, until I observed that in Assyrian the case is reversed, *kussū* and *hattu* (and therefore presumably *ḫuṭaru*) being both always *feminine*. This turns the scale decisively. May we not here also suppose direct Assyrian influence?

The verb **תִּרְסֵךְ**, in the sense required here, is not otherwise known. It may perhaps be connected both with Heb. **רָשַׁף** and Arabic **خَشَفَ**. In the ordinary use of the latter the *sound* of cracking or breaking often plays a part, the cracking of a shell of ice, for instance. One also says, using this verb, "He *broke* his head with a stone" (Jauharī and Qāmūs). It is possible that from the idea of the cracking or splintering of a thin covering was developed the signification of the Hebrew verb (strip off, etc.); cf. the use in Ps. 29: 9. If Aram. **תִּרְסֵךְ**, "potsherd," can also be brought in

¹ Cf. Prov. 3: 13; 8: 35, in both of which passages this *Hif'il* is used in parallelism with **מָצָא**.

here, it would appear that the emphatic *š* in Assyrian and Syriac is secondary. The question of these relationships is very difficult, however.

In מלכה we evidently have the equivalent of the Arabic *mulk*, "kingdom, rule," etc.

The two words with which the inscription closes are truly puzzling. There is a considerable degree of probability, however, as to their general meaning. Since the document appears to be complete, and the words immediately preceding speak of injury to the inscription itself (rather than to the sarcophagus or the tomb), *with no conjunction following*, it would seem to be almost certain that the two words in question are the continuation and completion of this particular subject. The general nature of the continuation can be conjectured from our knowledge of other similar documents. The penalty is invoked not only for the destruction of the inscription, but also for any damage to it. As we well know from Assyrian and especially Egyptian records, enemies or rivals were likely to obliterate more or less of the writing, to make erasures, substitute other names, and the like, or to cover the whole in some way so that it could not be seen. For instance, in inscriptions of Adad-nirari I (14th century B. C.), Tiglath-pileser I (12th century), and Ašurnasirpal I (9th century) we have in each case mention of every one of the acts of vandalism named above (see *KB*. I, pp. 6 ff., 46 f., and 120 ff., respectively). The two words at the end of our inscription can hardly be anything else than absolute infinitives, used exactly as in Hebrew. I propose to read שָׁפַל לְפָנָה (on the reading of the penultimate character, see above). The verb לָפַח, well known in Aramaic, late Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic, means "wrap up, cover over," etc.—a device which may have been commonly employed by those who feared the curses invoked against those who should *destroy* or *remove* the monument. See also the Assyrian formula mentioned above. שָׁפַל I suppose to be *šaf'el* of בָּלַל, meaning to *besmear* the inscription or deface it by pouring over it pigment or some other liquid; observe that this is precisely what the above-mentioned inscription of Ašurnasirpal warns against, with its *ša . . . ina piššate ika-tamušu!* The reading proposed for the two concluding words thus agrees with known models. It also gives to the inscription an ending which is rhetorically effective, a consideration which doubtless had its weight.

On the palaeographic side the inscription presents several features of interest. In general, the characters have the forms which heretofore have been regarded as the most archaic. There are some peculiarities, however. The *ṣ* sometimes has a form in which the strokes at the right of the shaft are symmetrically curved. Dussaud, in the table of alphabets affixed to his article, records this as archaic. This is possible, and even plausible; but it is perhaps more likely that we have here only an ornamental variation. The letter *ḥ* shows merely the "hand" (three fingers), without the customary shaft. Whether the Byblos form is the older, time will perhaps make known. The unusual fashion of the *ḥ*, with the head extending upward rather than to the left, is probably nothing more than a local peculiarity, designed to save space. The same form appears in the Abi-Baal inscription of Byblos, from the middle of the tenth century (see below). In several of the characters the shaft has an unusual slant to the left. This is especially noticeable in *ḥ*, but is also to be seen occasionally in *ḥ*, *ḥ*, and *ḥ*. Here, again, there is nothing essentially archaic. The characters *ṣ*, *ḥ*, and *ḥ* (in old Phoenician, Moabite, and Aramaic written with the same character as *ḥ*) happen not to be present. There is no *ḥ* in the inscription on the sarcophagus, but the letter occurs twice in the brief inscription in the shaft of the tomb.

In the language of the inscription there is nothing especially striking, unless the evidence of Assyrian influence, noticed above in several places, may be thus characterized. Both Dussaud and Lidzbarski lay great stress on the absence of the definite article, and the former goes so far as to question whether the old Canaanite speech possessed this element. I cannot see that any particle of new evidence, in this regard, is given us by this inscription. Where, in the document, could we expect to see the article employed? It is of course true, and the fact has long been known, that certain conventions in the use of the definite article *belonging to classical Hebrew* were not employed by the other North Semitic peoples. This appears particularly in the case of the noun accompanied by a demonstrative pronoun. The Hebrew would write, for instance, *הַסֵּפֶר הַזֶּה*. The article prefixed to the demonstrative here is superfluous, an exaggeration not to be expected elsewhere. This conventional use is neither North Semitic nor Canaanite, but purely Hebrew. In the old inscriptions of the "Canaanite" group we frequently find the article used with the noun in such cases, but

never with the pronoun. Thus Meša', line 3, הַכְּמַח וְאֵחַ, "this high-place"; Kalamu 5, הַסֵּפֶר ז', "this inscription"; Tabnith 6, הַדָּבָר הַהוּא, "that thing," and numerous other examples. Classical Greek ordinarily illustrates the same usage.

Even with the noun, however, the definite article is not needed, for the demonstrative pronoun gives sufficient determination. We say in English "this book," not "this the book," and the same is true of other modern languages which use the definite article. So also we frequently find the Greek tragedians *omitting* the article when the noun has a demonstrative pronoun.

This idiom, perfectly natural to a language ordinarily employing a definite article, seems to have been common in all periods of the North Semitic speech. In the inscription now before us we read אֶרֶץ ז', אֶרֶץ זֶן, and אֶרֶץ ז'. Similarly, in the Byblos inscription CIS. I, 1 we have in line 10 אֶרֶץ ז', "this land," and the same construction in lines 5, 11, 12, 13 and 14. So in Eshmunazar 10, אֶדְמוֹן הַהוּא, "that man," and numerous other examples. So also in the generality of Phoenician inscriptions, of whatever date, and in neo-Punic as well (אֶבְנִי ז' in *Ephem.* III, 62). In the Hadad and Panammu inscriptions of Zenjirli we find the same thing, נֶצֶב ז' several times repeated. Cf. also פֶּתֶחַ זֶה, "this image," in the Yale Aramaic inscription from Cilicia, of the fifth century B. C. (*JAOS.* 35, 1917, p. 372).

The theory of a very sparing use of the definite article in the primitive Canaanite speech, maintained by Lidzbarski and exaggerated by Dussaud, is as yet without foundation. From the old inscriptions we learn merely this, that it was common to treat the noun as sufficiently determined by the demonstrative pronoun without the added article, as in so many other languages, and that the literary Hebrew alone made use of an overloaded idiom. When Lidzbarski, in speaking of the lack of the definite article in the present inscription, exclaims, "hier fehlt er ganz," and proceeds: "Vielleicht wurde in dieser Inschrift mit der Weglassung des Artikels ein höherer Stil angestrebt," it is plain that he obtains his impression from this one point of disagreement with Hebrew grammar; for aside from this, there is not a single place in the document where we could expect to see the article employed.

The same is true of the Kalamu inscription, to which appeal has likewise been made. Aside from this one idiom with the

demonstrative pronoun, the use of the article is everywhere precisely that of classical Hebrew.

Lidzbarski also argues from the Gezer Calendar. Here, however, we have to do with a mere catalogue, not with a literary composition. The only natural way of formulating the list is: "Harvest-month; seed-month; month of late-sowing," etc. The definite article would be quite superfluous. If a similar table of seasons were to be made in the German language, for instance, "Flachsernte" would be written, instead of "die Ernte des Flachses." Even in continuous narrative the concise technical phrase would be usual in Hebrew; so, for example, in Gen. 30: 14 and Judg. 15: 1, "In the days of wheat-harvest" is **בְּיָמֵי קָצִיר חִטִּים**. Similarly **קָצִיר שְׂעִירִים**, "barley-harvest," 2 Sam. 21: 9, and other examples.

The use of the connecting **ו** in the Gezer calendar is not a substitute for the construction with the definite article, as Hoffmann conjectured (*Ephemeris* III, 29); it is merely a device for forming a close compound, where our western languages would employ a hyphen or form a compound word—i. e., just what is to be expected in such a list as this. It is true that in Gen. 1: 24 is written **וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים**, and in vs. 25 **וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים**; but Hoffmann and Lidzbarski failed to notice that the three nouns in vs. 24 are all *undetermined*, while in vs. 25 they are all determined. In one instance, **וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים**, the equivalent construction, the simple construct state, is employed in the calendar.

The recently discovered North Semitic inscriptions, then, give us no new information as to the use of the definite article. Evidence of a sparing (or disappearing) employment of it in the early Canaanite speech has not yet been found, nor is it likely to be found.

It was remarked, above, that M. Montet found a brief inscription on the wall of the tomb-shaft, about halfway down. The characters, which are of the same type as those on the sarcophagus, are not in every case distinct, but the reading seems to be assured, as follows:

לדעת | הניבולך | תחתון

Dussaud regards this as a warning, to him who has excavated thus far, not to proceed further. This would seem more plausible if it were paralleled by other instances; still, it is difficult to think of

any other interpretation. The fact that the letters are well cut, and that phrases (apparently) are marked off by perpendicular lines, as on the sarcophagus, gives good reason for supposing a complete and comprehensible sentence. Dussaud reads and interprets in the following manner (p. 143): *לִרְעָה הָנִי בְרִלָךְ חָחַת וֶן*: *Avis! Voici! Ta perte est ci-dessous!*

This is not quite convincing. The interjection "behold" is superfluous after *לִרְעָה*; the original form of *הָנִי* was certainly not *הָנִי*; and there is nothing in either etymology or usage that could justify the rendering of *בְּרִלָךְ* by "ta perte." On the precarious supposition that the intent of the inscription is to give warning to excavators, I should prefer to read as follows: "Take notice! Strength will fail you (*הֵן יִכָּר לְךָ*) below this point!" This in spite of the fact that our knowledge of the word *הֵן* comes from late Hebrew and the Aramaic dialects (cf. however Deut. 1: 41).

Dussaud publishes also a third inscription (p. 146), long known, but hitherto not correctly deciphered. On the stone fragment of a votive object (statue?), between cartouches bearing the name of the Egyptian king Šešonk I (middle of the 10th century), are portions of three lines of a Phoenician inscription. Clermont-Ganneau had discussed the monument, with a facsimile, in his *Recueil*, VI, 74 ff., and Lidzbarski treated it in the *Ephemeris*, II, 167 ff. The stone was found at Jebeil, and it now seems probable, from the palaeography, that the Phoenician inscription belongs to the same period as the cartouches. A king of Gebal, Abibaal (*מֶלֶךְ אַבִּיבַעַל*), is named, presumably the author of the inscription and the one who dedicated this votive object. The offering was perhaps made for the benefit of "the men(?) of Gebal (who are) in Egypt" (*שׁ גְּבַל בְּמִצְרַיִם*), since the traces of the character *שׁ* seem certain. The restoration of the beginning of the inscription, *א[שׁ יִמֵּן]*, "That which A. dedicated," conjectured by Clermont-Ganneau, is extremely probable. The remainder is too fragmentary to give any sure hold.

Of especial interest in connection with the Ahīrām inscription is the palaeography of this fragment. Here, again, the words (or word-compounds) are divided by the perpendicular line, and the characters *כ* and *מ* have the same peculiar forms, after the lapse of three centuries. This fact would seem to increase the probability that we here have to do with local fashions rather than with essentially older forms of the letters.

+B+IΣ
EΣEδO7N1
7D0+1

✓Vδ7BΣ74bΣ17B0X
X1XB5071Σ7N

+δδE1071LB71AIE7AIEΣE1E1C(1N67

E1E1ΣN(C1E1+E1+C1N1E17A1E1A1ΣE1+1

ΣE1Σ+107E1LB71AIE1717A1B1I1Σ1+E1+E1C1

2 A7A1Σ7A1B1Σ7A1Σ1A1E1A1B1E1Σ1Σ1A1

Σ7A1B1717A1E1B1Σ17A1E1A1N1+E1B1O7Σ1

1 7A1B1I1C07A1E1B1O71B1Σ7A1E1B1Σ1

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland. Bedeutungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur indo-iranischen Religionsgeschichte und Altertumskunde. Von Dr. HERMANN GÜNTERT. Halle: MAX NIEMEYER, 1923. 439 pp.

Seiner *Kalypso*, die dem semasiologischen Grundmotiv des "Verhüllens" und "Bergens" in der idg. Konzeption der Todesgottheit nachzuspüren unternahm, hat H. Güntert ein Seitenstück in dem vorliegenden Werk geschaffen, das die Idee der "Bindung" in der Person des arischen (= indo-iranischen) Weltkönigs verkörpert erweisen, die Idee der "Erlösung" an arischen Heilandsgestalten verfolgen will.

Arischer Weltkönig ist für G. Varuna. Zur Herrscherwürde sei er durch Zauberkraft (*māyā*) gelangt, von Haus aus ein Schamane, ein Priester-Medizinmann gewesen. Die allem Zauberverwesen sich anheftende Zweideutigkeit habe dazu geführt, auch Var.'s Wirken in zwiespältigem Licht erscheinen zu lassen: dem weisen Schöpfer und Erhalter der Weltordnung steht der gefürchtete Vollzieher der Strafgewalt gegenüber, der den fehlgehenden Sterblichen in Fesseln schlägt.¹ Auf Grund der letzteren Betätigung habe Var. seinen Namen als Fessler erhalten: G. 147 übernimmt Petersson's Etymon, das auf Vergleichung von *varatrā* "Riemen, Seil," altsl. *veruga* "Kette," lit. *virvė* dass., lett. *wefu* "einfädeln, nähen, sticken, reihen" sich stützt. Der Himmelskönig hätte also nur als strafender Gott in der Namengebung sich durchgesetzt. Die an sich nicht zu bezweifelnde Altertümlichkeit des Bildes des gött-

¹ Zur Verdüsterung der Anschauungen von Var. hätte nach G. die Bekanntheit mit dem babylonisch-assyrischen Herrschertyp beigetragen, indem die arischen Priester ein theokratisches Ideal (?) verkörpert fanden. Die Annahme eines Einschlages orientalischer Tyrannis scheint mir auf nichts anderes sich zu gründen als auf die Erwähnung (I. 25. 13 usw.), dass Späher um V. sich scharen, wenn er in goldenem Mantel auf seinem Throne sich niederlässt. Aber auch die *Ādityas* werden Späher genannt, wie die Sonne ein Späher ist über alle Lebendigen (IV. 13. 3); die Späher sind nicht ohne kosmische Bedeutung (Hillebrandt *Var.* 79) und für Auffassung Var.'s als Despoten nicht uneingeschränkt zu verwerten. Dass göttliche Strafgewalt ohne orientalisches Muster vorstellbar ist, zeigen ja auch die altskandinavischen Bilder (s. sogleich).

lichen Fesslers wird durch europäische Parallelen bestätigt. Eine schwedische Felsenzeichnung aus dem 15ten vorchristlichen Jahrhundert (G. 168) zeigt uns den "Gott mit den grossen Händen," ein vielgewundenes lasso-artiges Seil hoch über seinem Haupte haltend, augenscheinlich menschliche Verfehlungen mit religiös-rechtlicher Bindung bedrohend. Lassen wir dahingestellt, ob G. 168¹ in Seilverstrickungen und maschenartigen Geweben, wie sie auf altnordischen Felsenzeichnungen öfter begegnen, Zauberknoten richtig vermutet, so fehlen vorläufig sichere Handhaben für die Auffassung des skandinavischen Fesslers als Zauberers; es genüge, ein übermenschlich oder göttlich gedachtes Seitenstück zu Varuṇa in ihm zu erkennen.² Übrigens wird auch dieser als Fessler nicht Zauberer genannt; nie wird *māyā* in ungünstigem Sinne dem grossen Asura zugeschrieben.³ Weist seine Fesselgewalt auf eine Zweideutigkeit des Charakters hin, so braucht diese nicht gerade im Schamanentum zu wurzeln.

Die Konstruktion G.'s ist ein Versuch, den Spuren Söderblom's folgend, eine hohe Gottheit ohne Voraussetzung einer Naturerscheinung zu begreifen. Solcher Versuch wird in manchen Fällen auf Zustimmung rechnen dürfen. Die Lichtnatur der Ādityas und ihr hehrer ethischer Charakter sind so innig mit einander verschmolzen, dass Zweifel entstehen können, welchem dieser zwei Prinzipien die Priorität zuzuerkennen sei. Der Name der Ādityas=

¹ G. 154 zieht noch den thrakischen Gott *Darzales* zum Vergleich heran, einen chthonischen Gott (von dem man den ägyptischen *Sarapis* herleitet); G. deutet ihn als "Binder" oder "Fessler" im Hinblick auf av. *darəz* "fesseln," lit. *difzas* "Riemen" und Zubehör.—Das "Hängen" Odins (G. 151) hingegen liegt wohl etwas weiter ab.

Die hoch erhobene Hand kehrt bei Savitar wieder, der damit seinerseits einen Hintergrund von weiter Perspektive erhält. Solare Attribute, wie sie zu Savitars Erscheinung stimmen, begegnen neben der grossen Hand bisweilen auf alteuropäischen Bildern (G. 163, 166), während sie dem Seil schwingenden nordischen Gotte fehlen: dieser kann daher wohl mit Varuṇa, nicht aber mit Savitar zusammengestellt werden. G. 165 geht fehl, wenn er von einem vedischen Varuṇa—Savitar redet und Sav. für Hypostase Var.'s erklärt. Beide haben wenig wesentliches mit einander gemein.

² Auch bei günstiger Anwendung sollte nicht *māyā* mit "Zauber" schlechthin gleichgesetzt werden. Dass es die Leistung des Schaffenden, Bildenden bezeichnet, wird bei Varuṇa durch Hinweis auf *māna* "Messwerkzeug" V. 85. 5 uns angedeutet. Vgl. G. selbst 112.

“Söhne der Aditi” d. i. (nach Massgabe von *sāhasaḥ sūnūh* u. dgl.)= “Träger oder Bringer der Ungebundenheit” schliesst Gegensatz zur Sünde so gut wie zur Finsternis in sich. Die Namen der einzelnen mit Varuṇa verbundenen Aditisöhne weisen auf ein kosmisches Prinzip überhaupt nicht hin. Mit Recht hat, vom Etymon abgesehen, Meillet *JAs.* X. 9 (1897) 156 Mitra im Hinblick auf das appellative Neutrum *mitrá* “Freundschaft” (iran. “religiöse Bindung, Verpflichtung”) als deren Träger und Schützer⁴ gedeutet, so dass dieser Gott, nach seinem Namen zu schliessen, aus rein ethischer Anschauung hervorgegangen wäre. Ähnliches gilt augenscheinlich für Aryaman, während Bhaga, Amśa,⁵ Dakṣa weniger ethisch hohe als menschlich erwünschte Güter und Eigenschaften verpersönlichen, auch ihrerseits aber von Naturanschauung nichts verraten. Soweit das Etymon massgebend, ergibt sich für die Ādityas Primat der ethischen Konzeption.

Mit Verweisung des kosmischen an die zeitlich zweite Stelle sieht sich der Forscher vor der Aufgabe, die Bindeglieder zu finden, die dasselbe mit dem Ethos der Götter verknüpfen. G. hat hierfür, wie mir scheint, noch nicht ausreichende Formeln gefunden. Wenn er Mitras Entwicklung aus einem Gott der Verträge zum Sonnengott auf Einwirkung Indras zurückführt (57), so wirkt das wenig überzeugend, nachdem (36; 48) diesem zwar die Rolle des *svār*-Befreiers zuerkannt, eigner Licht- oder Sonnencharakter aber abgesprochen war. Für die vielgestaltigen kosmischen Beziehungen Varuṇas soll lediglich seine Zauberkunst uns den Schlüssel liefern; wie es gekommen, dass der grosse Magier so und nicht anders kosmisch sich manifestierte, würde man vergeblich fragen. Die Naturerscheinungen, an denen nun einmal auch der Varuṇamythus, ja er in erster Linie, nicht vorübergegangen ist, verlangen nach naturalistischer Erklärung; ob primär oder sekundär, man will sie verstehen, wie umgekehrt der Naturalismus der ethischen Entfaltung alles Göttlichen ihr Recht gegeben hat, wenn auch im Aufbau auf physischem Grunde.

⁴ *Mitró jánōn yatati, yātayati* “verbindet, verbündet die Leute” PW.— Die Wz. hat Petersson *Studier tillegnade t. Tegner* 1918 in *mi* “binden” erkannt, deren auch Brugmann gedachte, während R. Eisler gr. *μῆτρῆ* “Leibbinde, Kopfbinde, Schiffsgurt” treffend heranzog (G. 51 mit Anm. 3).

⁵ Verfehlt ist Heranziehung von *ἀμῶσα* bei G. 185. Die Deutung von *Amśa* wird durch das vollständigere *Rāyó Amśaḥ* V. 42. 5 jedem Zweifel entrückt.

Insbesondere dürfte die Beziehung Var.'s zu den Wassern mit Unrecht von G. 237 fg., wie zuvor von Oldenberg *Rel. d. V.* 200 (ebenso 2^{te} Aufl.) und Hillebrandt *V. Myth.* 3, 47, als nebensächlich angesehen worden sein. Die Zusammenstellungen des Letztgenannten, *Var.* 83 ff., sind noch heute beachtlich. Var.'s Herrschaft über die stehenden Wasser ist hier 85 doch wohl mit Recht nicht aus seiner Gewalt über Regen abgeleitet worden: die Regengötter Parjanya und die Marut sind nicht Wassergötter schlechthin geworden. Die Legende (VII. 88. 3 fg.) von dem Gott, der den auf offenem Meer gefährdeten Vasiṣṭha in sein Schiff aufnimmt, mit ihm gemeinsam auf den Wellen sich schaukelnd,⁶ hat nicht ihresgleichen im RV. Wenn zum Abschluss eines Opfers (*Hilleb. Var.* 60; *V. Myth.* 3, 28 ff.) der Fromme ins Bad steigt mit dem Spruch "niedergetreten ist V.'s Fessel," nach Vollziehung der Waschung aber mit dem Fusse das Wasser zurückstösst mit den Worten "abgewehrt ist V.'s Fessel," so ist die Gleichung "Wasser = V.'s Fessel" ja nicht zu umgehen. Man kann sie zweifach ausdeuten im Hinblick einmal auf die jenseits des sichtbaren, diesseits des unsichtbaren (höchsten) Himmels flutenden Wasser; zweitens auf die unterhalb der Erde gedachten Wasser. Beide sind für den nach dem *svår* Strebenden das letzte Hindernis auf seinem Wege (Neisser, *Z. Wtbch. des RV.* s. v. *aptúr*); beide schliessen das *svår* ein. Wie Agni und Soma eingebunden (*upanaddha*, *Hillebrandt, V. Myth.* 3, 41, 66) Var. zu eigen sind, mochte das *svår* von ihm gefangen⁷ gedacht werden auf Grund von Anschauungen, die den zuletzt von Sieg über den Nachtweg der Sonne uns nahegebrachten vorausgegangen sein können (vgl. *Hillebrandt* 3, 128). Vom *svår* wäre das Bild der Fesselung auf die *svår*-Sucher übertragen worden.

Bestimmen wir mit Lüders *Berl. Sber.* 1910, 931 Varuṇa als den "die Welt umkreisenden Ozean"⁸ (oder eigentlich den im Ozean

⁶ Der Konj. *īkḥayāvahai* (VII. 88. 3) ist mit Recht von GKR praeterital wiedergegeben. In lebendiger Vorstellung wird Vergangenes potentiell vergegenwärtigt: "da mögen wir wohl uns schaukeln (und so haben wir es getan)." Hierauf gedenke ich an anderer Stelle zurückzukommen.

⁷ Über Fangen und Binden der Sonne bei Primitiven s. L. Frobenius, *Weltanschauung der Naturvölker*, 138.

⁸ Weniger scharf "das Meer und die Wasser" Pischel *GGA* 1895, 448.— Lüders macht zu "Ozean" den Zusatz "Sitz des *ṛta* (= Wahrheit)." Ursitz des *ṛta*, der Weltordnung, ist wohl der höchste Himmel. Gelegent-

Herrschenden, cf. *apsú Várunah* in Brāhm., *adbhír yāti* I. 161. 14, *áva sindhum sthāt* VII. 87. 6 usw.), so lässt die *māyā* des Weltmeisters so gut wie seine soeben erörterte nächtliche Bindegewalt sich verstehen: es leuchtet ein, dass vom umkreisenden Ozean aus leicht die Beherrschung des Himmels sich ergibt (Verschmelzung des *apām dhāma* und des *devānām dhāma* auch s. v. *aptúr* S. 55 a. E.): die alte Gleichung "Varuṇa = Himmel" wäre zu halten, nur dass in ihr nicht die ursprünglichste Bedeutung des Gottes zum Ausdruck käme. V.'s Anteil am *svār yád āśman* (VII. 88. 2^c) wäre von hier aus zu begründen. Hinwiederum wäre für den Gegensatz zu Mitra auf die zuvor gewürdigte Nachtseite V.'s zu verweisen.

Der Gegensatz beider würde freilich durch die Formel "Sonne: Mond" (Oldenberg, Hillebrandt)⁹ am leichtesten gedeckt werden. Man könnte vom Monde ausgehen, wenn Var.'s Beziehung zu den Wassern als Funktion einer Beziehung zum Monde als restlos erklärt anzunehmen wäre. Die Frage kann hier nicht weiter verfolgt werden. Es kam hier nur darauf an, das Kosmische, sei es primär oder sekundär, aus vager Zauberformel zu lösen, in jedem Falle zwischen ihm und dem Ethischen ein Bindeglied zu suchen.

Auch bezüglich Indras, des heroischen Gegenparts, scheidet G. sich von der naturalistischen Erklärung. Doch nicht so einschneidend wie zuvor. Er stimmt in der Auffassung des Kampfes um die Wasser Hillebrandt (3, 181. 188. 190. 192) insoweit zu, als auch er der Winterzeit Verstopfung der Quellen, der Schneeschmelze ihr Freiwerden zuschreibt. Aber abweichend von H., der den Schauplatz der Sage ausserhalb Indiens in eine nicht näher bestimmte nördliche Gegend verlegt, sucht ihn G. in erreichbarer Nähe der ved. Sänger im Himālaya¹⁰ (vgl. übrigens Hill. selbst

lich mögen da Wasser und Himmel in einander spielen.—Es wäre dringend zu wünschen, dass die Lüders'schen Forschungen der Allgemeinheit zugänglich werden könnten!

⁹ Babylonische Parallelen (B. Geiger *Amśa Sp.* 148 ff.): Šamaš, der Sonnengott, und Sin, der Mondgott, binden und lösen als Rächer der Sünde, Schützer des Rechts.

¹⁰ G. ist hier mit Konow *Aryan gods of the Mitanni* (Kristiania 1921) zusammengetroffen. Beiläufig wendet sich hier K. pag. 5 gegen die Auffassung der vedischen Religion als Verehrung der Natur und ihrer Erscheinungen, setzt dieser aber nicht moralische oder geistige Kräfte

3, 181 Zeile 12 fg.) ; auch ist ihm Vṛtra kein "Frostriese," sondern ein Drache, wie ihn anderweit Märchen und Mythen uns verführen (auch nach skandinavischer Auffassung [H. 3, 186 ff.] ist es nicht ein Märchendrache, der in der Winterzeit die Wasser in Banden schlägt). Aber ob an der Grenze Indiens, ob ausserhalb die Berge gedacht werden, reale Grössen sind sie nicht von Haus aus gewesen : in der Himmelswelt, nicht auf Erden entströmen ihnen nach dem alten Mythos die frei werdenden Wasser. Damit soll nicht bestritten werden, dass auf Grund volksmythologischer Notanpassung irdische Lokalisierung erfolgt sein kann und erfolgt sein wird. Aber schon in der "ungeheuerlichen" ¹¹ Vorstellung, dass der Berg in Vṛtras Bauch stecke (I. 54. 10), verrät sich die Zwangseinkleidung des ursprünglich metaphorisch Gemeinten. Übrigens ist in II. 11. 5 *apó dyām tastabhvāmsam* der Himmel ja genannt, ebenda 9 *mahām sindhum āśáyānam* mit Wahrscheinlichkeit Himmelsflut gemeint, woran die Erwähnung der Götter (VI. 17. 8 *yád abhy áuhiṣṭa devān*, u. a. m.) sich reiht; zur G.-Konow'schen Lokalisierung ist auch zu bemerken, dass bei primärer Entstehung des Mythos im Pañjāb eine eindeutig realistische Kennzeichnung des aktuellen und jährlich sich wiederholenden Phaenomens zu erwarten stände, während in Wirklichkeit des niedrigen Wasserstandes der Ströme überhaupt nicht Erwähnung geschieht.

Die Eroberung des *svār*, die Indra als Frucht des Vṛtrasieges zufällt, die Festigung der schwankenden Berge, das Hochstemmen des Himmels, ¹² all das deutet auf jährlich sich erneuernden Welterschöpfungsakt, nicht auf lokale Fluss- oder Bergsage unabweislich hin. Der himmlische Schauplatz wird vollends unentbehrlich, wenn mit Oldenberg *Rel. d. V.* 141 (²138; vgl. Ludwig 3, 337; Schroeder *Ar. Rel.* 2, 599 ff.) der Vṛtrakampf als ursprünglicher Gewitterkampf angesehen wird im Anschluss an W. Mannhardt

gegenüber, sondern mächtige *agents* in der Natur, die nicht ihr gleichgestellt, doch auch nicht scharf von ihr unterschieden seien. Hierzu muss erinnert werden, dass z. B. Hillebrandt und Oldenberg nicht um eine Linie in ihrer Lehre von dieser Auffassung abweichen. Beide Forscher haben öfters ausgesprochen, dass der Veda das Stadium reiner Vergötterung von Naturkräften vielfach überwunden habe; die in diesem Stadium noch beharrenden Götter aber gleichen den *agents*, zu denen auch K. sich bekennt.

¹¹ Oldenberg *Rel. d. V.* 139 (= ²135).

¹² Schroeder, "Herakles u. Indra" (*Abh. Wien. Ak. Wiss.* 58, 3 [1914]: 72, 74, 79).

Germ. Mythen (1858) 160 fg., eine Erkenntnis, die W. H. Roscher *Apollon und Mars* (1873) 42 (Anm. 74) als Gemeingut der idg. Mythologie bezeichnen durfte. Eine Zeitbestimmung ist vielleicht bei Oldenberg nachzutragen: es war ein Verdienst Hillebrandt's 3, 200, darauf hinzuweisen, dass gerade in Indien Gewitter nicht erst zur Regenzeit sich einstellen, sondern die ansteigende Bahn des Jahres begleiten (vgl. auch Ludwig zu I. 56. 6, zitiert von Hill. a. O.). Indra könnte hiernach noch für das vedische Indien, wie einst in der nordischen Heimat, als Vorkämpfer des Frühlings¹³ gegen Vṛtra angesehen werden. Der Berg, auf dem der Drache lagert, dürfte auf den Himmel deuten, dessen Besitz der Daemon den Göttern streitig macht. Übrigens ist zu bemerken, dass hier zwei Versionen zu unterscheiden sind: nach der einen (die etwas geringere Zahl der Belege umfassend) liegt Vṛtra auf dem Berge, der die Wasser einschliesst; nach der anderen auf diesen selbst (Beschränkung auf die "Quellen" entspricht nicht dem Tatbestande). Für die Annahme, dass von Himmelswassern die Rede ist, begründet diese Zweiheit der Versionen sachlich keinen wesentlichen Unterschied. Vgl. auch Ludwig 3, 337.

Der Titel des G.'schen Werkes lässt in "Weltkönig" and "Heiland" eine Person vermuten. Das Kapitel "die ersten Ansätze zur Erlösungslehre" (239 ff.) will den Weg hierzu weisen: Varuṇa, der nicht nur Sultan, löse auch die Fesseln, in die er den Sünder geschlagen; dies sei der Keim der für die indische Religionsgeschichte so bedeutungsvollen *mukti*. G. glaubt, dass *brāhman* und *ātmán* der späteren Zeit die nämlichen Werte darstellen, die der priesterliche Intellektuelle in der Varuṇareligion suchte. Ich bedaure, da nicht folgen zu können. Wenn ich recht verstehe, hat die den Arier erfüllende "Sehnsucht nach dem Unendlichen"—G. stellt sie tendenziös der "Tatsachenfreudigkeit" des Semiten gegenüber (175. 417)¹⁴—das Wunder vollbracht, "Binder" in "Welterlöser" zu wandeln.

¹³ Hillebrandt zieht vor, Indra Sonnengott zu nennen, was nicht auf den Mythos, wie mir scheint, sondern auf das Ritual sich gründet (Vorrecht auf Mittagspressung zur Zeit des Zeniths der Sonne, u. dgl. m.). Die Beziehung zum Frühling wäre jedenfalls nicht uneingeschränkt zu verstehen, wie Indras beherrschender Anteil am Mahāvratā, der Sonnenwendfeier, nach Hillebrandt's bekannter Studie uns lehrt.

¹⁴ Siehe jetzt über babylonische Mysterienstimmung Ebeling *D. Lit. Ztg* 1924, 1589, um von Anderem zu schweigen.

Die spezielle Behandlung der Heilbringer, die den zweiten Hauptteil eröffnet (ohne auf das bedeutungsgeschichtliche Motiv des "Lösens" Bezug zu nehmen), schildert

(1) die Ásvin im Sinne der von Mannhardt erschlossenen lettischen Parallele: die astronomische Unstimmigkeit wird von Hillebrandt 3, 384 ff. wohl zu hoch bewertet. Die *ihéhá jātā* gelten als feindliche Brüder auch z. B. in China (Stucken *Astralm.* 86. 87). Gewiss ist *Nāsatya* eigentlich Name des Morgensterns gewesen (Geldner *V. St.* 3, 71) = "Sohn der Nasati" (vgl. Hillebrandt *Lieder d. RV.* I. 20. 3) oder schlicht "der *nasati*" (nom. abstr.): Herleitung aus *nas* lehrte bekanntlich zuerst Brunnhofer (*Von Aval bis zur Gangā* 99), formale Richtigestellung ergibt Grassmann 1711 (ebenso Güntert 259, der jedoch nicht faktitiven Sinn ["Rettung"] in **nasati* legen sollte: der Sohn der **nasati* trägt seinen Namen nicht als "Nothelfer," sondern weil ihm selbst vor anderen Sternen die Wiederkehr beschieden ist. Dass er darauf hin am ehesten auch der Sonne zur Wiederkehr verhelfen konnte, was dann den Rettungslegenden als Vorbild gedient hat, ist eine Sache für sich, die nicht noch im Namen *Nāsatya* hat zum Ausdruck kommen können).

(2) Agni, den Mittler zwischen Göttern und Menschen¹⁵—Soma hätte hier als Seitenstück nicht fehlen sollen.¹⁶

¹⁵ Irrig hier Deutung von *Nāvagva* als "Bote": Zugehörigkeit zu *gó* "Rind" lehrt Bloomfield *Am. Journ. Phil.* 17, 425. Die Dedeutung von *-gva* ist verblasst, so dass *nāvagva* zu "neunfach" sich entwickelte.

¹⁶ Doch hat G. mehrfach rückhaltlos zum Ausdruck gebracht, dass Gleichsetzung Somas mit dem Monde ihm als unursprünglich erscheint (es sei nur S. 43 zitiert "junge priesterliche Auffassung des Mondes als nektargefüllte Trinkschale der Götter"). Das Urteil ist zwar nicht durchaus restlos erweislich, weil von den Stellen in IX, die Soma anscheinend als Mond aufgefasst zeigen, einige nicht als jung mit Sicherheit angesprochen werden können; die Chronologie des neunten Buches bedarf noch besonderer Untersuchung; aber von der erdrückenden Mehrheit der Pāvāmānis (namentlich etwa der 60 ersten Lieder des Buches) darf unbefangene Betrachtung mit Bestimmtheit bekunden, dass der Rauschtrank wohl, gleich dem Opferfeuer, mit kosmischen Kräften ausgerüstet erscheint und insbesondere dem Himmelsmeere angeglichen wird, mit dem Monde indessen in der Regel keineswegs in Beziehung gesetzt wird. Die entgegenstehende bekannte These Hillebrandt's kann nur auf eine kleine und nicht ganz gesicherte Minderzahl von Belegen sich stützen.

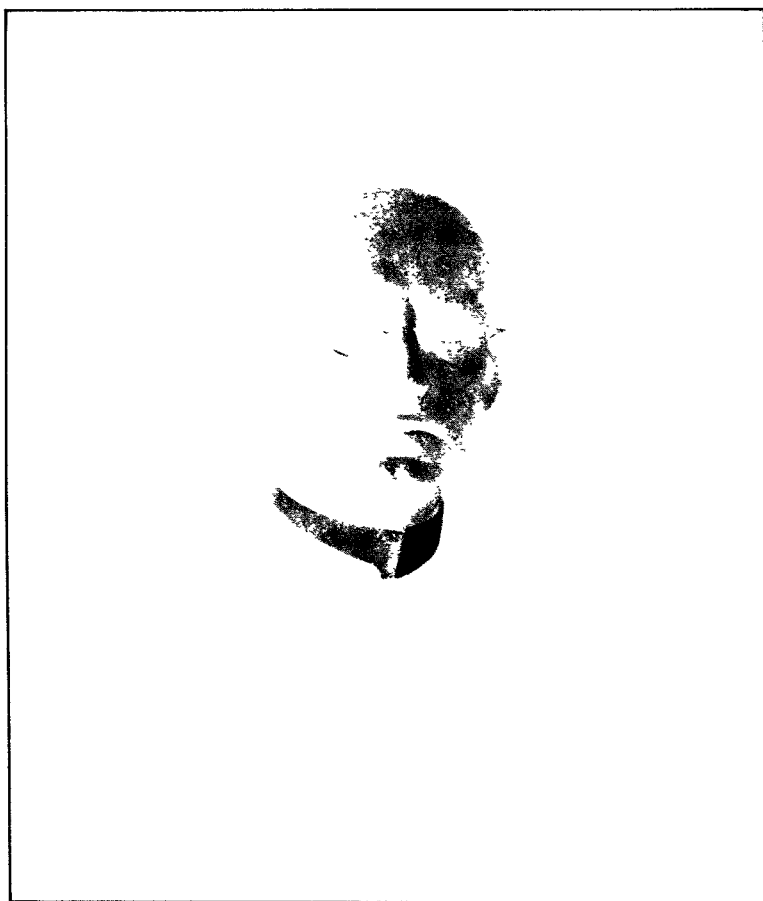
(3) Viṣṇu, der Heilbringer *kar'ṣṣ*, leider nur teilweise so dem Herrn Verf. sich bewährend. Während nämlich dieser 295 richtig feststellt, dass Viṣṇus letzter Schritt in den höchsten Lichthimmel führt,¹⁷ wo die Seligen am Metborn sich erfreuen, tauscht er 296 diesen höchsten Schrittspunkt gegen den Scheitelpunkt der Sonnenbahn ein, die doch am sichtbaren Himmel verläuft und das *paramām vyóma* gar nicht berührt; er reiht hieran die unvedische Vermutung, der gütige Gott steige täglich seine drei Stufen wieder herab! Was also sechs Schritte ergeben würde. Und hieraus sei der spätere Glaube an die *avatārāḥ* erwachsen. Welches Heil mag wohl die niedergehende Sonne der Welt bringen? Anders der dem höchsten Himmel entsteigende Held. "Aus höchsten Wonnen komm ich her."—Ernste Erwägung gebührt der phallischen Auffassung Viṣṇus, die aus einer Andeutung Oldenberg's und fruchtbaren Anregungen Schroeder's G. zu Folgerungen von grosser Tragweite führt. Vielleicht sein Bestes gibt Verf., der im Sachgeschichtlichen glücklicher als im Wortgeschichtlichen operiert, in den folgenden Abschnitten (zu denen jetzt Wesendonk¹⁸ zu vergleichen) über den Urmenschen bez. Gottmenschen: die geistreiche Deutung Yamas als "Zwitten" sei doch noch hervorgehoben. Verf. beherrscht das Rüstzeug der in seinem Werk vereinigten Disziplinen und fördert den Fachmann, in Anmerkungen, durch ausgiebige literarische Nachweise. Ohne Dank für mannigfache Anregung wird niemand von dem Buche scheiden.

WALTER NEISSER.

Breslau.

¹⁷ Unzweifelhaft hat Viṣṇu nach der Durchschreitung der (sichtbaren) Himmelhöhe seinen Namen erhalten (Bloomfield *Am. Journ. Phil.* 17, 427; Oldenberg *GN* 1915, 374). Ungenau "die Fläche auseinanderbreitend" G. 307 Z 3.

¹⁸ *Urmensch und Seele in der iranischen Überlieferung*, Hannover, 1924.



ALBERT T. CLAY

1866—1925

IN MEMORIAM ALBERT T. CLAY

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

PROFESSOR CLAY died in New Haven, September 14. He had spent a quiet and happy summer at his cottage at Pocono Lake Preserve. Then came two weeks of illness and he passed away. The funeral in Battell Chapel of Yale University on September 16 was attended by a large throng, and despite the academic recess there were present the official representatives of Yale, Harvard and Pennsylvania and of the many learned societies of which he was a member. Dr. Clay leaves behind his widow and two children, Albert G., in the office of McKim, Mead, and White, Architects, and Barbara, wife of Whitney Dedeboys, Esq., New York.

Albert T. Clay was born in 1866 at Hanover, Lancaster Co., Pa. His character was the result of the mingled strains of inheritance, education and environment, and above all of personality, a genius so unique that only a biographer would seek further for the rock whence he was hewn. He inherited the ability of an engineer, and he would facetiously inquire why he had not become an engineer or an architect instead of an archaeologist. But this inheritance gave him the sure eye and hand which made him a master in the accurate detection and copy-proof reproduction of cuneiform scripts. His practical ability was shown in the building of his home in New Haven, which was planned even to the structural details by himself in cooperation with his young son. And that power came in good stead when he was commissioned to prepare plans for the Jerusalem School Building in conjunction with the local architect and the Director of the School upon his Oriental excursion in 1923. This building, now completed, is a monument to his practical genius in part.

Dr. Clay studied at Franklin and Marshall College, graduating in 1889 with the degree of A. B., receiving later the A. M. He then studied for the ministry of the Evangelical Lutheran Church at the Mount Airy Seminary, Philadelphia, entering the ministry of that communion in 1893. At the same time he entered the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania and became a student under Professors Hilprecht, Peters, and Jastrow. He received the Doctorate of Philosophy in 1894, serving also as Instruc-

tor 1892-95. He was pastor of St. Mark's Church, South Bethlehem, 1895-96. In 1896 he went to Chicago as Instructor in the Chicago Lutheran Seminary, and also engaged in pastoral work there. He was soon recalled to Pennsylvania by the urgent solicitations of Professor Hilprecht, and was advanced to a Lectureship and the Assistant Curatorship of the Babylonian Section of the Museum in 1899. In 1903 he became Assistant Professor, and in 1909 Professor of Semitic Philology and Archaeology. Also he served as Instructor in Hebrew at the Mount Airy Seminary 1904-10.

Clay had become interested in the valuable Babylonian Collection in Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan's Library, and one can hardly doubt that the friendly affection that grew up between the two suggested to Mr. Morgan his munificent foundation of the Laffan Professorship of Assyriology in Yale University, given in memory of his friend the late editor of the *New York Sun*. At the same time Clay was always jealous to have it known that his call to that chair, in 1910, was in no way dictated or suggested by the patron. The Graduate Faculty of Yale, equally jealous of its rights, nominated Clay to the new Professorship and he was confirmed by the Corporation.

The Laffan Endowment provided funds for more than the Professorship, a balance that was to be spent in amassing a collection. Clay made wise use of this opportunity with his unerring skill as an archaeologist, while his contagious enthusiasm raised up other patrons of archaeological enterprise. As a result within the thirteen years past he rapidly assembled a collection which vies with all in the country, and which probably contains more unpublished material than any other. His acquisitions were mostly obtained by purchase through dealers, and this involved both a connoisseur's genius and good business aptitude. Through his friendship with the late Rev. Dr. James B. Nies he secured for Yale the legacy of the latter's valuable Babylonian collection and library.

But, more than this, he established a veritable School of Assyriology, in this continuing the tradition of his Alma Mater, Pennsylvania, but transferring the centre of gravity of those studies, in regard to the number of students and the output of original material, to Yale. It has long been remarked by American Semitists that their science does not enjoy the vogue it had a generation ago; Assyriology does not possess as many thriving schools as existed then, although we have a considerable number of able scholars

scattered throughout the country, themselves the product of the earlier generation. To Clay's credit it is to be said that he succeeded not only in founding such a School at Yale but also in putting it in the first rank. Many distinguished disciples of Clay at Pennsylvania and Yale can be named, and others still there are who have achieved meritorious standing under his instruction. Without being a martinet or a philological disciplinarian he affected his students with his own enthusiasm, discovering what was in them, drawing the best out of them, always giving his time and skill and interest with unfailing and affectionate zeal.

One of the most remarkable instances of a scholar's stimulation of another to productive enterprise is found in Clay's encouragement of his friend, Dr. Nies, an older man, to take up Assyriological research. Under Clay's persuasion Nies devoted himself to the publication of some of the Sumerian contents of his own collection, producing his volume, *Ur Dynasty Tablets*, 1920, in his 67th year. The case is typical of Clay's contagion of enthusiasm; we must go back to a scholar like President Harper for the like.

The practical difficulty which confronts every school of philological research, that of publication, Clay met with his cheery and indomitable perseverance. He established the Yale Oriental Series of Texts and Researches; this along with the kindred Nies Series, largely inspired by him, comprises twenty-five volumes, including those in actual preparation. He edited the Babylonian Collection of Mr. Morgan's Library, contributing three of its four volumes. At the meeting of the Oriental Society at Yale this year he obtained the imprimatur of the Society for a large enterprise of a series of Oriental (Semitic) Texts and Translations which is financially subsidized by application of a legacy left to the Society by Dr. Nies and underwritten by the Yale University Press.

This fertilizing and energizing quality of Clay's spirit bulks largest in his contribution to American scholarship. But he has left equally the great monuments of his own independent research in an extraordinary number of volumes. Most of these are texts, fully provided with the necessary apparatus; as he advanced he gave forth researches of a more generalizing character. The texts, the raw material of scholarship, are permanent monuments; his researches belong to the slowly growing structure of Oriental philology, to be tested by the fires of future science, but they are of the kind of creative thought which have made their mark and will

long challenge attention. Miss Grice, Dr. Clay's devoted student and associate, has prepared a select Bibliography of her master, which accompanies this sketch. It presents the many volumes he published, beginning with those that appeared in the series of the Babylonian Expedition of Pennsylvania; their extensive list will surprise and refresh the memory of many close friends who have lost their count. Clay has left in addition the completed manuscripts of two books ready for the press. He was not so prone to publications of a smaller scope, was not a constant contributor to the learned journals, but his brochures in those quarters were always weighty. One very important paper of his outside of Assyriology, to which he gave almost single-minded attention, is his 'Aramaic Indorsements' in the Harper Memorial Volume.

There is one contribution to Semitic science for which Clay will always be remembered whether for its solidity or for its far-reaching reverberations, and one on which he was content in his own daring way to rest his fame. The present writer is not qualified to speak as an Assyriologist, hence he has no right or duty to express an opinion on that hypothesis, especially in this place. Yet he may speak to some objective facts in the history of the discussion Clay aroused. I recall the occasion, shortly before the appearance of Clay's *Amurru* in 1909, when he broached his new theory before the Philadelphia Oriental Club, memorable to me for the dictum of the brilliant and lamented Judge Sulzberger: "Clay, that is not a theory, that is a revolution." The Judge was right. Neo-Babylonism had spilt over from Germany, had swamped England and America. The ebb of that extravagant tide was sure to come, we can say who look back. But Clay was one of the first prophets to bid it halt, the first to dam it, and he has now a goodly company with him, of scholars too reputable to discount as a minority. Clay was not theologically-minded, but I suppose there was in him something of the old rock-ribbed Lutheranism which resented the patronizing and sophomoric recipe for the explanation of the old Testament, "*ex Babylone lux.*" As an archaeologist he demanded that the Bible should be treated as a venerable and original document of history on equality with the cuneiform documents of which he was a master. At all events he has gained initial successes, if not a triumph. Some dogmas of a generation ago no longer hold undisputed sway, those of Babylonian primacy, of Syria a no-man's land, of periodic swarms of Arabs (a kind of

Neo-Hegelian theory), of Arabia as the homeland of the Semites. The old self-satisfaction has disappeared, and Clay is the protagonist who disturbed the settled lees.

Clay was an active and energetic member of many learned societies, in all of which he took part as a leader and in most cases as a ranking officer. His particular devotion was to the Oriental Society. In it he served as Librarian 1913-24, and as Treasurer 1915-23, to both which duties he gave arduous attention. For the preparation of the Catalogue of the Society's Library he secured funds from outside, and at the last Meeting he had the gratification of the Society's action ordering the printing of the Catalogue, the expense of which will be defrayed by the generosity of the Yale Library. He was President of the Society in the past year, 1924-25, and all will remember his gracious hospitality at the Annual Meeting in Easter, when he had the happiness of entertaining the Society in his own University. He served as a President of the Society of Biblical Literature; was for many years a Vice-President of the Archaeological Institute and active in its local Societies in Philadelphia and New Haven, a frequent lecturer in its cause, and for long an Associate Editor of *Art and Archaeology*. He was a member of the Oriental Clubs of Philadelphia, New Haven, and New York. In 1912 he was honored with election to the American Philosophical Society. At the time of his death he was a Delegate of our Society to the American Council of Learned Societies. He was a member of several foreign Societies, and gave a unique contribution to cosmopolitan scholarship by founding in Jerusalem upon his visit there in 1919 the Palestine Oriental Society, of which in company with Dr. Garstang he was one of the first Vice-Presidents. In the opening words of its initial prospectus the *Journal* of that Society says: "The Palestine Oriental Society owes its origin to the American Assyriologist Dr. Albert T. Clay," a statement supported by the gracious compliment paid to his initiative by Père Lagrange in an ensuing number of *Revue Biblique*. And he continued his fostering interest in that young and flourishing Society by propagating its cause in this country. Clay was proud of claiming it as a true child of our own Society, whose constitution it followed in its formation. He received the honorary degree of A. M. from Yale; of LL. D. from Gettysburg; and of Litt. D. from Muhlenberg.

In the current number (No. 19) of the *Bulletin* of the American Schools of Oriental Research Professor Torrey gives an account of Dr. Clay's active furtherance of the cause of the Schools in Jerusalem and Bagdad. Suffice it to recall here that he served on the management of the Jerusalem School since 1916 and became an original Trustee upon its incorporation in 1921. In 1919-20 he accompanied Director Worrell to the reopened School in Jerusalem, transacted important official business there and in London, and finally reached, *via* Bombay, the land of Babylon, where he prospected for the consummation of the long-cherished plan of a School in Bagdad. On a subsequent visit as commissioner of the Schools to the Orient he had the gratification of formally opening the new School, November 2, 1923. On his return overland by motor through the Arabian Desert he and his party met with a serious accident, in which most of them suffered injuries and a servant was killed; the Land of Amurru treated him unkindly! We have to recognize that the confidence and admiration felt for Dr. Clay by Dr. Nies largely contributed to the motive of the latter's generous legacies to these Schools, to Yale, and to our own Society.

It is difficult to appraise in public the character of a friend who has just gone. One is too proud of his friend unduly to boast of merits that should be manifest to all, and equally loth to speak of any imperfections. As I think of those who have gone—and this Society has lost some remarkable men in recent years—I have come to think that we have loved them for their faults as well as for their perfections. At least we come to see that what they lacked in was often the excess of their virtues. Clay's ardent, single-minded temperament, that of a Crusader for his causes, often made him severe towards what stood in his way; he was either enthusiastically interested, or he ignored and criticized what did not appeal to him. He lacked that detachment of view which can distinguish between cause and personality. But in our ordinary humanity those who feel most love best. And a host of colleagues and disciples, and, more intimately, a remarkably wide and diverse circle of friends, high and low, rich and poor, Gentile and Jew, will remember him not so much for his scholarship and leadership, which the world admires at greater distance, as for his zeal of personal affection, the native, enthusiastic passion of the man, which also made him great in his science. More than a scholar—a Man has fallen in our Israel.

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Editorial

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HISTORICAL REFERENCES IN HEMACANDRA'S MAHĀVĪRACARITRA

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THE Mahāvīracaritra is the tenth book of the Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣacaritra and narrates the life of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṃkara of the Jains. It naturally contains many references to the personages and kingdoms of that period of history—the time of Śreṇika Bimbisāra. The extensive modern literature in regard to Śreṇika and his contemporaries is based on scattered allusions in such religious works as the Mahāvīracaritra, but the Buddhist sources have received much more attention than the Jain. Hemacandra, to be sure, is late—twelfth century; but as a Jain and one of the most learned men of his time as well, he may be assumed to report a tradition that was well established among the Jains. The historical data in the Pañcīśaṭaparvan are well-known and have been given due consideration, but the Mahāvīracaritra seems to be known to very few. It is divided very sharply into two parts. The first five sargas are concerned with the life of Vīra, beginning with his previous incarnations and concluding with the founding of his tīrtha (congregation). Sargas 6-12 are almost purely secular. The division is much more clear-cut than is usual in the caritras. Sarga 13 reverts to Vīra.

The account of Vīra's birth coincides with those in the Kalpa Sūtra and Ācārāṅga Sūtra¹ in the main points, but with much more detail. In accordance with the later aggrandizement of Vīra's life, Kṣatriyakunḍagrāma is described as a fine city, while Brāhmanakunḍagrāma, in which Vīra narrowly escaped birth, is spoken of as a hamlet, *saṃniveśa*.² Vīra's father, Siddhārtha, is called a *mahīpati*, of the Jñāta family, an Aikṣvāku. Triśalā's family is not discussed, and no reference is made to her relationship with Ceṭaka, King of Vaiśālī. Siddhārtha and Triśalā had

¹ *SBE.* 23, pp. 218 ff. and 189 ff.

² In regard to these two places, see Hoernle, *Upāsakadaśā*, n. 8; Smith, *JRAS* 1902, p. 266 ff. I do not understand why Mr. Smith says Vāṇiyagāma (Vāṇijakagrāma) was the residence of Vīra, but doubtless this has been discussed elsewhere.

two children, Nandivardhana and Sudarśanā, older than Vardhamāna. The details of Vira's life do not concern us here. There is no important secular information introduced until after he had begun to preach as a Tirthamkara.

Sarga 6 deals with the life of Śreṇika. He was the son of Prasenajit, King of Kuśāgrapura, and Dhāriṇī. Prasenajit is depicted as a powerful king, and a devoted follower of Pārśvanātha. He had many sons, and instituted tests to decide which one was best-fitted to succeed him. Śreṇika always distinguished himself, and Prasenajit decided he should be his heir. Because of the frequent fires in Kuśāgrapura Prasenajit had issued a proclamation that any one in whose house a fire occurred would be exiled from the city. As a fire subsequently occurred in the royal palace, Prasenajit felt called upon to obey his own edict, left the city, and founded Rājagṛha. In this connection, Hemacandra etymologizes over the name, the usual form of which is 'Bimbisāra.' When they were leaving Kuśāgrapura, Prasenajit gave the princes permission to take anything they liked. His brothers chose valuable things, but Śreṇika took only a drum, because it first proclaimed victory, and thus acquired the name 'Bhambhāsāra.' To conceal from his other sons the fact that he had chosen Śreṇika as his successor, Prasenajit showed less favor to him than to his brothers. He gave territory (deśa) to each of the others, but nothing to Śreṇika. Whereupon Śreṇika left Rājagṛha and went to Veṇātataṭapura where he entered the shop of a merchant whose daughter, Nandā, he eventually married. Prasenajit had been kept informed by spies, and when he became mortally ill, sent for Śreṇika and named him his successor. Nandā bore a son, the famous Abhayakumāra, and years later they went to Rājagṛha and made themselves known to Śreṇika. He made Nandā his chief-queen, and gave Abhaya the premiership of his five hundred ministers, half of his kingdom, and the daughter of his sister, Susenā, as his wife. Hemacandra's account differs from the usual versions in several respects. According to him, Śreṇika's predecessor and father was Prasenajit. This is of especial interest because, in the many discussions regarding the chronology of the Magadhan dynasty, it is generally stated that the Jain list starts with Śreṇika, and Hemacandra's *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* seems to be the chief authority for the statement.³

³ See Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, pp. xl-xlvi.

That argument becomes invalid, so far as Hemacandra is concerned, in view of his explicit statements in the *Mahāvīra*.⁴ The old residence of the kings of Magadha is elsewhere called 'Girivraja,' and Śreṇika is the traditional founder of Rājagṛha, whereas in Hemacandra Prasenajit rules first at Kuśāgrapura⁵ and founds Rājagṛha. Śreṇika succeeded to the throne at Rājagṛha.

Hemacandra next devotes great space to the family of Ceṭaka, King of Vaiśālī. Nearly all the royal houses mentioned hereafter are connected with the house of Vaiśālī through Ceṭaka's daughters, which is somewhat suspicious, but not impossible, as history. Vaiśālī is described as a magnificent city, and Ceṭaka as a powerful king who has seven daughters. Ceṭaka was a śrāvaka and took no interest in his daughters' marriages which had to be arranged by their mothers who were as successful in arranging desirable alliances as Queen Victoria. The eldest, Prabhavatī, was married to Udāyana, King of Vītabhaya in Sindhusauvīra; Padmāvatī was married to Dadhivāhana, King of Campā; Mṛgāvatī to Satānika, King of Kauśāmbī; Sīvā to Pradyota, King of Ujjayinī; and Jyeṣṭhā to Nandivardhana, *adhinātha* of Kuṇḍagrāma. Nandivardhana was the elder brother of Vīra and it is interesting to note that the Jains enlarged Kuṇḍagrāma to an apparent equality with Kauśāmbī and Ujjayinī. Two daughters of Ceṭaka, Cellaṇā (Cillaṇā) and Sujyeṣṭhā, were unmarried. They were at home in Vaiśālī and were inseparable companions.

⁴ Mr. Aiyar, *IA* 1915, p. 41 ff., says the *Kalpadrūmakalikā* begins the list with Bimbisāra and that this tradition is used by Hemacandra and Merutuṅga, but he also refers to the fact that in the *Mahāvīracaritra* Hemacandra makes Śreṇika a successor of Prasenajit, and says that, according to Buddhist and Jain tradition, the places occupied in the *Purāṇas* by Kṣetravarman and Kṣatrajit belong to Mahāpadma and Prasenajit. "It is easy to identify these rulers of Buddhist and Jain tradition with the ones mentioned in the *Purāṇas* because these traditions know Prasenajit and Mahāpadma and they also tell us that the latter was the father of Bimbisāra. We may therefore take it that Mahāpadma was the son of Prasenajit." I can not follow his reasoning. He does not cite the Jain authority for Mahāpadma as the son of Prasenajit, or for Prasenajit as the grandfather of Śreṇika. In the *Rauhiṇeyacaritra* also Śreṇika succeeds Prasenajit.

⁵ Kuśāgra is one of the prehistoric rulers mentioned in the *Purāṇas*, but I have not come across any other reference to this name for the old capital of Magadha.

A female ascetic, who was angry with Sujyeṣṭhā, took revenge by showing her picture to Śreṇika who became infatuated with her. He sent a messenger to Ceṭaka to demand her in marriage. Ceṭaka refused on the ground that Śreṇika's birth was too low. "Born in the Vāhika family, he seeks a maiden born in the Haihaya family."⁶ I have found no other reference to the Vaiśālī house, or the Licchavis, as 'Haihayas.' Speaking of the traditional period, Pargiter says⁷ that the kingdoms of Videha and Vaiśālī were apparently not overthrown by the Haihayas. Prof. Rapson⁸ identifies the Haihayas with the rulers of Ujjain in the historical period. And what is this 'Vāhika-family' of Śreṇika? Is it to be identified with the Bālīhikas, the despised people of the north-west,⁹ or is it applied etymologically to the Magadhans, who were also in bad standing?¹⁰ Mr. Deb¹¹ advances the theory that Śiśunāga, the traditional founder of Śreṇika's dynasty, was an Elamite. Dr. Raychaudhuri¹² combats the usual view that Śreṇika belonged to the Śaiśunāga dynasty, and cites Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacaritra* as calling him 'a scion of the Haryāṅkakula.' In any case, it is generally thought that Śreṇika ranked as a *parvenu*.¹³ The story of Ceṭaka's refusal to accept him as a son-in-law might be a reflection of the refusal of the Sākiyas to give a daughter to Prasenajit of Kośala; or, it might be taken as further evidence of the fact that the patricians of the republican clans considered themselves superior to some of the ruling houses. Rhys-Davids¹⁴ uses the marriage of Cetaṇa and Śreṇika as an argument against the plausibility of the story concerning Prasenajit, but the Jain account would not support his argument.

To return to the *Mahāvīracaritra*, Śreṇika was not resentful at Ceṭaka's refusal, but depressed, whereupon his ever-resourceful son and minister Abhaya promised to obtain his desire. By the same picture device, Abhaya made Sujyeṣṭhā infatuated with Śreṇika

⁶ 6. 226.

⁷ *JRAS* 1914, p. 280.

⁸ *Cambridge History of India*, p. 316.

⁹ Weber, *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, Nov. 1892.

¹⁰ Spooner, *JRAS* 1915, p. 422.

¹¹ *JAOS* 42, p. 194; 45, p. 72.

¹² *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, I, p. 86.

¹³ Cf. *IA* 1916, p. 15.

¹⁴ *Buddhist India*, p. 10.

and arranged for her elopement. Cetaṇā refused to be left behind. She mounted the chariot first, while Sujyeṣṭhā returned for her jewels, and Śreṇika drove off, not doubting that she was Sujyeṣṭhā. The innocent sufferer from the mistake, Sujyeṣṭhā, attained vairāgya and took initiation.

To Śreṇika and Cetaṇā were born Aśokacandra, or Kūnika, (Ajātaśatru), Halla and Vihalla. Cetaṇā realized even before Kūnika's birth that he was an enemy to his father, because of events in preceding incarnations, and always favored Halla and Vihalla without the knowledge of Śreṇika, who was very devoted to Kūnika. This discrimination resulted in Śreṇika's death. Other sons of Śreṇika mentioned by Hemacandra were: Meghakumāra, the son of Dhāriṇī, and Nandiṣeṇa, both of whom took initiation; Kāla and 'other sons by high-born wives,' who were all killed in the famous war between Kūnika and his grandfather Ceṭaka. No mention is made of the 'Kośaladevī' among Śreṇika's wives. Some time after the marriage of Śreṇika and Cetaṇā, Vīra came to Rājagṛha. This appears to have been his first visit to Rājagṛha after he had become a Tīrthaṅkara. From that time on, Hemacandra represents a very close association between Vīra and Śreṇika's family.

Sarga 7 is devoted almost entirely to kathās. Another marriage of Śreṇika with a low-born girl, Durgandhā, is narrated, and the story of Ādrakakumāra, son of the King of Ādraka, who is described as a close friend and ally of Śreṇika. In Sarga 8 a visit of Vīra to Brāhmaṇakunḍagrāma is described, and then he went to Kṣatriyakunḍagrāma, where Nandivardhana, Vīra's brother, was king. Jamālī, Vīra's nephew and son-in-law, together with five hundred kṣatriyas took initiation.

A war between Kauśāmbī and Avantī, that probably had foundation in fact, is reported as taking place during the reign of Śatānika. The picture device is introduced again. 'Lustful, impetuous Pradyota' became infatuated with the picture of Mṛgavatī, the wife of Śatānika, and demanded her from Śatānika, who naturally refused to give her up. Accompanied by fourteen 'crowned kings,' Pradyota marched against Kauśāmbī. As a result of the excitement, Śatānika died and Mṛgavatī was left with her young son, Udayana. She realized she could not cope with Pradyota and, resorting to stratagem, she persuaded Pradyota not

only to fortify Kauśāmbī with material brought from Ujjayinī, but also to provision it! She then closed the gates against Pradyota and withstood a seige. Wearied by her struggles, Mṛgāvati resolved to take initiation, if Vira should come to Kauśāmbī. Vira, of course, came and Mṛgāvati carried out her intention with the consent of Pradyota, who had also listened to Vira's preaching and 'had reached an abandonment of hatred.' Pradyota took the young Udayana under his protection and made him King of Kauśāmbī.

In the Buddhist tradition the name of Udayana's father is Parantapa, and Udayana is generally spoken of as the contemporary of Śreṇika, Pradyota, Vira and Buddha. Hemacandra makes Śātānika belong to their generation and Udayana presumably about the age of his wife, Vasavadattā, the daughter of Pradyota. The story of their elopement occurs later in the Mahāvīracaritra, with variations from the other versions.¹⁵ A war between Pradyota and Udayana was averted by Pradyota's ministers who persuaded him to accept Udayana as a son-in-law. In view of the uncertainty of the location of Kauśāmbī Hemacandra's version that it was 100 yojanas from Ujjayinī is of importance. Nothing is said in regard to the debated point of Udayana's son and successor.

Not so much is known about Potana as about some of the other cities of the period. Rhys-Davids quotes an ancient stanza¹⁶ which calls Potana the city of the Assakas, and he thinks that in Buddha's time Potana belonged to Avantī. In our text Potana was an independent city ruled over by Prasannacandra,¹⁷ who became an ascetic. Absorbed in meditation, he was disturbed by hearing passers-by criticize him for devoting himself to asceticism while his treacherous ministers and King Dadhivāhana of Campā planned to dethrone his young son. This Dadhivāhana was mentioned earlier as one of Ceṭaka's sons-in-law. There is no mention in the Mahāvīra of Śreṇika's conquest of Aṅga. It is still independent. There is an account¹⁸ of a war between Campā and Kauśāmbī in the time of Śātānika. The name of Campā's king is

¹⁵ Cf. *Buddhist India*, p. 4, and the Kathāsaritsāgara. In the latter, Śātānika was the grandfather of Udayana. His father's name was Sahasrānika, and Mṛgāvati was his mother.

¹⁶ *CHI* p. 173.

¹⁷ 9. 21 ff. His story is told at length in the *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan*.

¹⁸ 9. 75 ff.

not mentioned, but presumably it was Dadhivāhana. The King of Campā besieged Kauśāmbī, but withdrew with a small force at the beginning of the rains. Warned of this, Śatānika fell upon his rear-army. The king escaped, but lost men, treasures and elephants.

Pradyota suffered a similar defeat in a war with Rājagṛha,¹⁹ whose cause is not mentioned. Pradyota set out with his usual 'fourteen crowned kings' to attack Rājagṛha. Śreṇika learned of his approach, and was much alarmed. Abhayakumāra rose to the occasion, as usual, and by a trick convinced Pradyota that his vassal kings had all been bought by Śreṇika. Pradyota fled, and also the other kings, but the army was completely destroyed. This was the beginning of a feud between Abhaya and Pradyota often referred to in Jaina fiction. Pradyota succeeded in capturing Abhaya, but released him as a reward for services rendered while a prisoner. In turn, Abhaya captured Pradyota and took him to Rājagṛha. Śreṇika was on the point of killing Pradyota but was restrained by Abhaya, who released Pradyota.

Pradyota was next involved in a war with Udāyana, King of Vitabhaya in Sindhusauvira, another son-in-law of Ceṭaka. Udāyana is described as overlord of ten 'crowned kings,' lord of three hundred sixty-three cities and sixteen realms. Pradyota eloped with Udāyana's slave-girl who took a very sacred statue of Vira with her.²⁰ Pradyota was subsequently captured and branded by Udāyana. The story is told with a great wealth of detail, though subordinated to the history of the statue which Pradyota and the slave-girl later gave to a merchant of Vidiśā. After his release by Udāyana, Pradyota gave twelve thousand villages to the statue.

¹⁹ 11. 113 ff.

²⁰ This story appears in a less elaborate form in the commentary on the Uttarādhyāyana, and also in a commentary on the Kalpa Sūtra, Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for Sk. Mss.* 1883-84, p. 142. I believe that Udāyana of Vitabhaya appears only in Jain literature. Dr. Bhandarkar suggests the identification of Udāyana and Udayana of Kauśāmbī. Pavolini, *GSAT* 16, p. 262 ff., seems to think the identification a certainty, but it is certainly not a foregone conclusion. He lays stress on the fact that the elephant is named 'Nadāgiri' in the Kathāsaritsāgara, and 'Nalagiri' in the Mahārāṣṭri tale. Since Nalagiri belongs to Pradyota, the fact that it is associated with Pradyota in two stories does not establish the identity of the other characters. In Hemacandra's version, Pradyota rides the elephant Anilavega when he abducts the slave girl.

The inference from the references in this story is that Vidiśā was subject to Avantī. Later, it was the chief city of Daśārṇa,²¹ but Daśārṇapura occupied that position at this time. Vira paid a visit to Daśārṇapura, and the King Daśārṇabhadra visited him with a retinue of a thousand kings, and with a magnificence unparalleled in the Mahāvīracaritra.

Udāyana did not select his son, Abhīci, as his successor when he became an ascetic, from consideration for his spiritual welfare, but chose his nephew, Keśin. Abhīci left Vītabhaya and took refuge with his cousin, Kūṇika, in Rājagṛha. Udāyana was ultimately poisoned by Keśin.

The narrative then returns to the kingdom of Magadha. Śreṇika wished to retire from the throne and first offered the crown to Abhayakumāra, who refused it because he intended to become an ascetic. Abhaya is another person who has received little attention from modern historians, but he surely has a good claim to actual existence. His low birth may well have been the reason for the succession of Kūṇika, who was Śreṇika's second choice, according to our text. The account of Śreṇika's death agrees fairly closely with that in the Kathākośa.²² The main facts are that Śreṇika was saved from starvation by the efforts of Celaṇā, and that he committed suicide, thinking Kūṇika had come to murder him, whereas Kūṇika really intended to release him. Overcome by remorse, Kūṇika left Rājagṛha and founded Campā.

Soon after Śreṇika's death, Kūṇika became involved in a war with Vaiśālī. Halla and Vihalla, Kūṇika's brothers, aroused the envy of Kūṇika's wife, Padmāvatī. They fled to their grandfather, Ceṭaka, who refused to surrender them, and thus began the war that ended in the destruction of Vaiśālī. Kūṇika was supported by his ten half-brothers, and Ceṭaka by eighteen kings. After hand-to-hand fighting which Hemacandra calls the bloodiest in the *avasarpinī*, the eighteen kings retired to their own cities and Ceṭaka withdrew into Vaiśālī which successfully resisted Kūṇika's siege. Finally, Kūṇika obtained the assistance of a renegade Jain ascetic and, by his trickery, captured Vaiśālī, completely destroyed it, and ploughed up the ground. He was engaged in this war for twelve

²¹ *CHI* p. 523.

²² Tawney's Translation, p. 175 ff.

years. That the inhabitants were not indiscriminately slaughtered is indicated by the fact that a Vidyādhara, a grandson of Ceṭeka, is represented as transporting them to a mountain.

Kūṇika returned to Campā where he met Vīra. Vīra told Kūṇika that he would go to the sixth hell, because he was 'dharmin,' whereas the cakravartins went to the seventh hell. Kūṇika demanded to know why he was not a cakravartin, since his army was of the requisite size. Vīra told him it was because he did not have the jewels. Kūṇika, a 'mountain of egotism' and 'of little wit' made his own jewels. He conquered Bharata and reached Tamisrā, the cave to which the cakravartins were admitted. 'Devoid of spiritual knowledge,' he knocked on the door of the cave, proclaiming himself the thirteenth cakravartin. Annoyed at his presumption, the divinity of the cave 'reduced him to ashes.' This is inconsistent with the *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* as usually interpreted.²³ But this passage does not necessarily mean that Kūṇika died in Campā, but that Udāyin became king in Campā, after Kūṇika had died. Kūṇika may have died on some military expedition. It is not likely that Hemacandra would contradict himself so flagrantly. While implying that Kūṇika was a Jain, Hemacandra does not make a definite claim, and he certainly does not favor him. On the other hand, he praises highly Kūṇika's son Udāyin, who succeeded him. He was a devout Jain, distinguished for his piety and power. It should be noted that his succession is represented as taking place in Vīra's lifetime.

While the *Mahāvīracaritra* deals chiefly with Magadha, Vaiśālī, Kauśāmbī, Avantī and Viṭabhaya, there are scattered allusions to other states. Potana has already been mentioned, ruled by Prasanacandra as a contemporary of Dadhivāhana of Campā and Vīra. Kośala is conspicuous by its absence. The Kośalan Prasenajit is mentioned only once, and that very casually in a subordinate kathā. Śrāvastī is mentioned a few times.

Vīra's ten chief lay-disciples were converted on visits to Vaṇī-jakagrāma, Campā, Kāśī, Ālabhikā, Kāmpīlya, Paulāśapura, Rājagrha and Śrāvastī. Hemacandra calls the kings of the first three cities 'Jitaśatru,' and does not mention the names of the rulers at the other places. The *Upāsakadaśā* calls the king of all

²³ 6. 22. See Charpentier, *IA* 43, p. 173, and Hertel's *Selections*.

these cities, except Rājagṛha, 'Jiyasattū.' Hoernle suggests²⁴ that Ceṭaka was called Jitaśatru in rivalry with Ajātaśatru (Kūṇika), but this is not likely, since all the places named as ruled by Jitaśatru were certainly not subject to Vaiśālī, nor part of the Vṛji confederacy. In another case in the Mahāvīracaritra, the King of Kauśāmbī is said to be Jitaśatru, at a period when either Satānika or Udayana must have been king, according to Hemacandra; and in the account of Śreṇika's last incarnation, he was the son of Jitaśatru, King of Vasantapura. It is probable that Jitaśatru was an official epithet applied indiscriminately, as Rhys-Davids suggests²⁵ in reference to Prasenajit.

Hemacandra follows the usual custom of introducing facts of later history as prophecies made by Vira. The most important one is in reference to the founding of Aṇahilapaṭaka—described as an ideal city governed in complete accordance with Jainism—and the rule of Kumārapāla 1669 years after his nirvāṇa. His own meeting with Kumārapāla is reported in detail. This passage has been discussed by Bühler in his 'Life of Hemacandra.' The thirteenth and last sarga treats of the future of Jainism and the death of Vira. Vira preached his last sermon at Apāpā, which Hastipāla, King of Apāpā, heard. After the sermon, Puṇyapāla, 'king of the district,' related eight dreams which Vira interpreted. They all denoted the gradual decline of Jainism. The fifth period of *avasarpinī*, *duḥṣamā*, was to begin three years, eight and one-half months after his nirvāṇa. The persecutor of the Jains, Kalkin, who was to rule in Pāṭalīputra 1914 years after his nirvāṇa, and the possibility of identifying him with a historical personage have been discussed by Mr. Jayaswal²⁶ and Prof. Bhide²⁷ who quotes this passage. As in other accounts, Vira's death occurred in the house of Hastipāla, in Apāpā.

²⁴ His edition of the Upāsakadaśā, n. 9. Cf. n. 246. I do not understand his identification of Jitaśatru with both Ceṭaka and Prasenajit.

²⁵ *BI* p. 10.

²⁶ *IA* 1917.

²⁷ *IA* 1919.

THE ENDING OF THE SEMITIC GENITIVE

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ARTHUR UNGNAD (who is perhaps the most brilliant of the younger Assyriologists, although some of his recent utterances are rather peculiar) has just published a little monograph (18 pages) on parent Semitic,¹ which is dedicated to Dr. Kraeling, of Union Theological Seminary, and Dr. Lutz, of the University of California. He endorses (pp. 5. 7; cf. ZS 3, 21⁴)² the theory which I advanced (SFG vii; contrast WdG viii⁴; JAOS 45, 124^m) 47 years ago, that Assyrian³ is the Sanskrit of Semitic; he is also inclined (p. 24) to adopt my view that the original home of the Semites was northern Africa; he thinks, however, that the preformatives of the Semitic imperfect (BA 1, 17; JAOS 41, 184ⁱ) are not personal pronouns, but adverbs: the prefix of the first person, *a-*, I, is said to mean *here*; *ta-*: there, and *ia-*: anywhere (p. 10). But *a-*, I, is shortened from *ana* = *anâku*, just as the Assyrian preposition *ina*, which is identical with the Egyptian *m-*, Coptic *n-*, often appears as *'*, e. g. in Heb. *âtmôl*, *âmš*, *az*, *aḥôr*, *akên* (JHUC 341, 47, Oct. 11; JAOS 43, 425; MF 126^m) as well as in Talmud. *îbrâ*, verily (cf. Aram. *bêrârâ*, purity, verity; Arab. *birr* or *burr*, piety, veracity) and *âbarâi*, outside > *Bârâitâ* (JHUC 348, 48, Oct. 10; cf. JBL 36, 255^m). *Ta*, thou, is of course, the pronoun *anta*, thou, without the deictic prefix *an-* (cf. Ungnad, *op. cit.* p. 9, n. 1) and I pointed out 26 years ago (JAOS 22, 48ⁱ; 28, 115ⁱ; 41, 184ⁱ; OLZ 12, 212^{*}) that the preformative of the third person was originally not *ia-*, but *i* and *u* as in Assyrian; *ia* and *iu* are secondary.

The initial *h* in Heb. *hû*, he, is a prefixed deictic element, probably connected with the Hebrew article which is secondary: in the old Phœnician inscription, discovered at Byblus in the fall of 1923,

¹ Arthur Ungnad, *Das Wesen des Ursemitischen. Eine sprachgeschichtlich-psychologische Untersuchung. Mit einem Anhang: Zur Entstehung und Geschichte der Zahlbegriffe*. Leipzig, 1925.

² For the abbreviations see vol. 43 of this JOURNAL, p. 116, n. 2. MF = *Marti Festschrift* (Giessen, 1925).

³ For *Assyrian* instead of *Accadian* see JAOS 43, 116, n. 1.

which may have been written in the 13th century, so that it is perhaps 400 years older than the Moabite Stone, there is no article (OLZ 28, 135^a). We may also compare the prefixed *hâ* in Arab. *hâdâ*, &c. (VG § 107, a. i. v, γ).

The cuneiform rendering of the name *Jehu* as *I'a'u'a* shows that Heb. *hû* was originally pronounced with a final *a*-vowel: *hû'a*, a form which we find in certain modern Arabic dialects (VG 303). *Jehu* is dissimilation for *Johu*, just as *Jesus* is later form for *Joshua* (EB 3285^m; ZA 2, 261^m; BA 1, 296. 329^a; OLZ 12, 164; JHUC 354, 48, l. 20). The final *a*-vowel of *hû'a* is preserved also in classical Arabic. I regard it as the remnant of the noun *îât*, being, which appears in Hebrew as the prefixed sign of the accusative, *ôt*, *et*. Bauer's combination of this *nota accusativi* with the verb *atâ*, to come, so that *âtika aqtul*, thee I kill, would have been orig. *I come to thee, kill* (ZDMG 68, 370; BuL 641) seems to me untenable. The final *t* of *îât* is dropped also in Arab. *îiâ* and Eth. *kîiâ*, just as the fem. *t* (JAOS 28, 115) is dropped in the absolute state of feminine nouns and the absolute state of Aramaic abstract nouns in *-ût*. Arab. *îiâ* = *îiâ* = *in-îât*, the *in* being a deictic prefix like the *an* in *anta* and *anâku*. The initial *k* in Eth. *kîiâ* may be combined with the *ka* in Arab. *dâka*, *dâlîka* in which the *-ka* is, of course, not identical with the suffix of the second person. *Qatâlta*, thou didst kill, became *qatâlka* under the influence of the first person *qatâlku*, I killed (cf. SFG 63⁴). This conformed suffix *-ka* instead of *-ta* was not preserved except in Ethiopic, Mahrî, Socotrî, &c. (BSS 21) but as possessive suffix appended to nouns it displaced the original *-ta* in all Semitic languages.⁴ Nöldeke's remark ZA 20, 140 is misquoted VG 318, just as his remark *Syr. Gr.*² 217⁴ is misquoted VG 314^m (see *Proverbs* 51⁴, 8).

In Sabean and in the Arabic dialect of Granada, about the end

⁴ I discussed the question *Why is the suffix of the second person -ka instead of -ta?* at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in Hartford, April 15, 1898. At the same time I presented (see JAOS 19, 168) papers on The origin of the Hebrew *nota accusativi* (cf. *Proverbs* 51) and The termination of the construct state of the plural of masculine nouns in Hebrew (cf. *Kings* 270⁴; *Nah.* 42, †). The possessive suffix *-ta* was displaced by *-ka* when the (secondary) feminine ending *t* was developed (JAOS 28, 115). It is, of course, impossible to explain *anâku*, I, as meaning orig. *thy humble one*; *-ku* (or *-ka*) *thy* (*Judges* 65, 45) is conformed to *anâku*.

of the Middle Ages, the pronoun of the third person was still *huuatu*, *hüati* and *hüet*, *hiet*, respectively (BSS 14). Sab. *huuatu* corresponds to Ass. *šu'ātu*. In Eth. *ue'étu* we have the same form without the prefixed deictic *š* or *h*. In Mahrî, the dialect of the coast of southern Arabia, N of the island of Socotra in the Indian Ocean, *h* is prefixed to the masculine of the pronoun of the third person, and *s* to the feminine. In Ass. *šû*, he; *ši*, she, the masculine has been conformed to the feminine, whereas in the cognate languages (e. g. Heb. *hû*, *hî*) the consonantal prefix of the feminine conforms to the masculine. In Mahrî we find the vowel *e* or *i* in both genders: masc. *he*, *hi*; fem. *se*, *si* (VG 303) just as the 'Anazah Bedouins say *kām*, *hām* for the suffixes *-kum*, *-hum*.⁵

I showed 24 years ago (*Proverbs* 51) that Ass. *iāši* or *iāti*, which corresponds to Heb. *ôtî*, me, lit. *my being*, created the impression that the pronominal element was not suffixed, but prefixed: the Assyrians therefore began to say instead of *āšuka* or *ātuka*, thee (Heb. *ôtēkā*): *kāša*, *kātu*; and instead of *āšušu*, *ātušu*, him: *šu'ātu* (VG 314, d).

The form *iā* for *iāt*, being, appears also in the nominal affix *-iā*, e. g. Aram. *qadmāiā*, first, prop. first-being; *Ātūrāiā*, Assyrian. The original *a* of this suffix is preserved in Ass. *Aššūrā'a*; forms like *Aššûrû* = *Aššûraiû* (AJSL 1, 179, n. 4) with the ending of the nominative are later. Just as the possessive suffix of the first person *-iā* (JAOS 16, cix*; *Kings* 268, 44) is shortened to *i*, so Aram. *Ātūrāiā* appears in Hebrew as *Aššûrî*. Arabic forms like *Makkî*, Meccan, instead of *Makkatî* (WdG 1, 151, A; ZA 12, 131. 179; BSS 7) may be due to the fact that the original form was *Makkatî-iāt*; so the elision of the fem. *t* may be due to haplological syllable ellipsis (VG 260').

The termination *-î* of these denominative adjectives, which are called in Arabic *nisbât*, is identical with the Semitic genitive ending *-i*. The relations between genitives and certain adjectives in Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages were illustrated long ago by F. Max Müller at the end of the third chapter of his

⁵ See Wetzstein, *Sprachliches aus den Zeltlagern der syrischen Wüste* (Leipsic, 1866) p. 131; cf. *Judges* 66, 15; VG 310; Albrecht, *Neuhebr. Gr.* § 28. 'Anazah (not 'anzah, Hommel, *Säugetiere* 331) denotes a species of weasel; cf. EI 1, 363; Jacob, *Beduinenleben* 33; Baron Max v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf* 2, 54. 117. 130.

Lectures on the Science of Language (cf. Brugmann, *Kurze vgl. Gr.* 435¹).

The noun *îât*, being, appears also in the *t* of the reflexive-passive stems (JAOS 28, 13⁴): Aram. *îtgêfîl*, he was killed, was orig. *îâtêh qêfâl*, he killed himself. In Assyrian we find not only *îât*, but also *ât* (written *attu*; AG² § 74) and *îâš*, *âš*. *Îât* may be a dialectal form as is also Arab. *lâisa*, he is not, for which we should expect *lâita*. Similarly we find in Arabic the dialectal form *raġs*, wealth, instead of *raġt* = *ġatr* = Heb. 'ošr (JBL 37, 220⁴; cf. Syr. 'attîr bē-pêrê).⁶ In this country we use *e. g.* the dialectal forms *rîle* and *rare* instead of *roil*, to annoy, vex, and *rear*, underdone, nearly raw. In German the fem. of *Neffe*, nephew, is not *Nifte*, but *Nichte* which is a LG form, just as we find in German the LG forms *sacht*, soft, and *Schacht*, shaft. In modern Arabic, *t* appears both as *t* and *s* (Spitta 17; Löhr 2). Also in Ethiopic, *t* has become *s*. Barth (ZDMG 68, 363) regarded *lâisa* as a compound of the negative *lâ* and the emphatic *-sa*, which we have *e. g.* in Eth. *ânsa*, I; but Ass. *lâšu* (written *laššu*; cf. Arab. *lâsta*, *lâstum*, &c.) is a compound of *lâ-išu*, non-existence (HW 386). Arab. *lâta* affords no parallel; here *ta* is a remnant of (*haiâ*) *tallâhi* (JAOS 28, 114; AJP 43, 242⁶; contrast BA 1, 397).

Ass. *îšu*, existence (cf. MVAG 29, 3, p. 65, n. 1) appears in Hebrew as *îeš*. We have this also in the Assyrian adverbial ending *-îš* which corresponds to Aram. *-ît* (JHUC 354, 48, Feb. 5).⁷ Similarly our English adverbial ending *-ly* is shortened from *like* which means orig. *body*. Ger. *Leiche* is the common word for *dead body*, and this meaning appears in Eng. *likewake* or *lichwake*, watch over a dead body; *lichway*, path by which the dead are carried to the grave; *lich-gate* = corpse-gate, *i. e.* a covered gateway at the entrance to churchyards where the mourners with the coffin waited for the coming of the officiating clergyman (JAOS 37, 255; cf. also *likam*, human body). Also the final *š* in Heb. 'akkabîš, spider; *dargâš*, bed-steps; *pîlâġš*, concubine, may be connected with *îeš*, being (JHUC 354, 48, Feb. 5). Similarly the suffix *-ân* in Arabic plurals like 'ibdân or 'ubdân, slaves (WdG 1, 216-218) or singulars like *sulţân* may not be identical with the plural ending in Ass. *šarrâni* (cf. *Kings* 270⁴; *Nah.* 42 †) and Eth. *ṭabibân*, but may be

⁶ Another doublet is *raġġaša*, to increase, enrich.

⁷ We find the same affix in Egyptian (ZA 28, 302).

originally a noun meaning *abundance* (cf. Heb. *ôn*, *hôn* and AJSL 22, 254). In Sumerian (Poebel, § 139) *meš*, whose Assyrian equivalent is *ma'adûtu*, multitude, is used as a plural suffix, and in Assyrian ideographic writing this Sumerian *meš* is the common sign of the plural.

According to Ungnad (*op. cit.* p. 16) the Semitic genitive ending was originally a noun meaning *appurtenance* or *rest*, and the accusative ending an affix like *ward* in our *heavenward*, *Godward*, &c. This *ward* is the Ger. *wärts*, connected with Lat. *vertere* > *versus* which is used as a postposition. Ungnad (p. 17) thinks that primitive Semitic was practically an isolating⁸ language in which the idea *the hunter killed the dog* was expressed by *hunter* + *thither* + *anywhere* + *killing* + *dog* + *aim* (Ungnad: *Jäger* + *Herbewegung* + *irgendwo* + *Tötung* + *Hund* + *Ziel*). I believe, however, that the nominative was indicated by the addition of the pronoun of the third person, *u*, (cf. VG 311, §, note, und G. Curtius, *Kleine Schriften* 2, 174) and the accusative by the addition of *-a*. We need not suppose that the termination of the accusative was orig. *-hâ* which is appended to Ethiopic proper names in the accusative. Christian's objection that the nominative ending could not be combined with the pronoun of the third person, because this was orig. *šû* (ZS 3, 17, l. 17) is not valid; Ass. *šû* is conformed to the fem. *ši*. This *š* was what I call a *š_i* which appears in Arabic as *š* (JAOS 28, 115). This explains the *f* as suffix of the third person masc. sing. in Egyptian (ZDMG 65, 562; 74, 465; JAOS 43, 422). Arab. *đû*, *đi*, *đâ* may be identical with this original *tû*, *tî*, *tâ* (cf. JHUC 334, 60⁴, Feb. 8; VS §§ 164-167; WdG 2, 203, B; AG² § 8a, a; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*² § 209; BA 1, 584; also MVAG 29, 3, p. 129^a).

The founder of comparative Indo-European philology, Franz Bopp, was especially interested in the origin of grammatical forms, but morphogonic problems are less popular now than they were 100 years ago.⁹

⁸ For the misnomers *isolating*, *agglutinate*, and *inflective*, cf. Hugo Schuchardt, *Das Baskische und die Sprachwissenschaft* (Vienna, 1925) p. 15 (= Sph 202/4 of Vienna Academy).

⁹ Cf. G. Curtius, *Zur Kritik der neuesten Sprachforschung* (1885) pp. 130. 150⁴; Brugmann, *Zum heutigen Stand der Sprachwissenschaft* (1885) p. 116.

BRIEF NOTES

Heb. *kě*, like, and *kî*, as

Heb. *kě*, like, is shortened from *kî*, as, just as the Aramaic relative *dě* is a clipped form of *dî*, or the Hebrew relative *šě* < *šâ*, the accusative of *šû*, *šî* (cf. above, p. 313; KAT² 518; *Genesis* 119, 29; JAOS 28, 116^a; WF 217). The Assyrian equivalent of *kě*, like, is *kî* or (with emphatic *-ma*) *kîma* which appears in Hebrew as *kěmô*. The prepositions *běmô* and *lěmô* are conformed to *kěmô*. In Assyrian we find both *kîma iâti*, like me, and *kî iâtima*. The emphatic *-ma* was originally the interrogative *mâ*, what? (GK²⁸ § 105, b, note 3; ZDMG 74, 465, 30). This *-ma* is not indefinite (*Proverbs* 67, 43). *Kě*, about, approximately, denotes orig. *likeness*, something like (cf. *ὥς δέκα*, about ten). For the so-called *kě veritatis* cf. *χρόμεθα ὑμῖν ὥς φίλοις*, &c.

Heb. *kî* is translated *because* or *for*, *that*, *when* or *if*, *although*, *namely*, *surely*; but the proper English equivalent is *as*. In the cases in which it is said to be used like the *ὅτι recitativum* it means *thus* (= *kô*, *kâkâ*) or *as follows*, like Ass. *umma* or *mâ* (AG³ 216^a). Later Greek writers use *ὥς* in this sense, e. g. *εἰπούσης τινὸς πρὸς αὐτὴν ὥς μόναι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄρχετε ὑμεῖς αἱ Λάκαιαι* (Plut. *Lyc.* 14^f). Gr. *ὥς*, how, is originally identical with *ὡς*, thus (= *οὕτως*, *ἡδε*). Both are derived from *ὥ*. We find *mâ* before *oratio directa* also in Hebrew (*Proverbs* 68, 7). For the emphatic *-mâ* in Hebrew, which appears, as a rule, as *nâ*, see JBL 37, 214^m; *Proverbs* 67, 47.

Ger. *wie* means both *like* and *how*. In Assyrian, *kî* is used for *how*? (ZDMG 74, 441^f). After the Flood, Ea says to Bel: *Kî kî lâ tamtâlik*, How couldst thou be so ill-advised (contrast HW 326^f). We are therefore justified in rendering *rě'û-nâ kî ôrû 'ênâi* (1 S 14, 29): Look how bright mine eyes are; cf. *Gen.* 18, 20; JBL 38, 167, n. 41; also *kâ in êkâkâ, êkâ, êk*, how (Ass. *âkî*).¹

¹ The initial *a* in *âkî* must be connected with *â'u*, who? = Arab. *âjjû*, whoever; cf. Ass. *ânu*, where? = Arab. *âjma*; Heb. *ajin*, *ân*, *âna* (KAT² 494; *Ezekiel* 62, 21). For the initial *î* in Ass. *iânu* = *ânu*, where? and *iâ'u-ma*, any one = *â'u-ma* (Arab. *âjjû-man*, whosoever) or *iâbu* (= *âbu* = *â'ibu* = *âjibu*) enemy (AG³ § 23) we may compare our *iâ* = *â* (e. g. use pronounced *iûs*) and Eth. *iê* for *ê*; cf. Praetorius, *Äth. Gr.* § 10;

Syr. *āik* became *ak* (cf. *aikanna*, *aikán*). The Greek equivalent of *kî*, *ws* may mean *that*, *when*, *because* or *for*, e. g. *Τί ποτε λέγεις, ὃ τέκνον; ws οὐ μανθάνω*.

Our *as* is a contraction of *also*, i. e. *all so*, quite so. In German, *also* is used (like Heb. *kî*) before *oratio directa* (e. g. *er sprach zu ihm also*:). For this archaic *also* you use now *wie folgt*, as follows, or *folgendermassen*. The shorter form of Ger. *also*: *als* is used for *wie*, like; Luther says: *unschuldig als ein Lamm*, and in modern German, *wie* is often substituted for *als*, e. g. *grösser wie du* instead of *grösser als du* or *wie ich ihn sah* for *als ich ihn sah*.

Our *as* means not only *like*, but also *inasmuch as*, *because*; *when*, *while*; *thus*, *for instance*. For Heb. *kî*, that, we may compare the dialectal use of *as* in cases like *I don't know as I do* and the vulgar *as how* (e. g. *She says as how I bawl worser than the broom man*). Also *how*, without preceding *as*, is used for *that* (cf. also *He told me how that he saw it all*). Heb. *kî* is often concessive (cf. Ezr. 9, 13 and AV in Hab. 3, 17) like Lat. *ut*, e. g. *Ut desint vires tamen est laudanda voluntas*; cf. GB¹⁷ 343*; Mic. 89, iv; MF 119, β.

The Hebrew conjunction *kî* is identical with the Hebrew noun *kî*, burning, branding < *kui*, to burn. The primary connotation of this stem is *to light*. This may mean *to kindle* (cf. Arab. *āyṡara*). It may also signify *to give light*; we call windows *lights*, and Aram. *kāyṡētā* (= *kayīētā*) denotes *window*. Finally it means *to reflect light* and form images by the reflection of rays of light. An image is a *likeness* or *similitude*; Ass. *mušālu* means *mirror*, and *tanšilu* (< *tamšilu*): *likeness*, *like*.

The original meaning of Heb. *mašāl*, to be like, to rule, is *to shine*. The statement in the priestly account of creation (Gen. 1, 16) that God made the greater light *lē-māmsālṯ hai-īôm* may have meant originally, not *to rule the day* (Graec. Ven. *eis ἡγεμονίαν τῆς ἡμέρας*), but *for the illumination of the day*; Saadya's Arabic version has *lil-'idā'ati fi-'n-nahâri* (JBL 36, 140). *Māmsalâ* is found only in 16 passages of OT, and in 7 of them it may mean *splendor*, *glory*; also in Sir. 7, 4; 43, 6. Later generations may

VG 604; ZDMG 28, 519; König's Ethiopic studies (1877) p. 62; Schreiber, *Manuel de la langue Tigraï* (1887) p. 9; Mondon-Vidailhet, *Manuel pratique de la langue Abyssine (Amharique)* p. 30; Sievers, Phon.⁵ § 424.

not have been aware of the fact that *māmsalā*, dominion, meant orig. *splendor*, just as few of us realize that *solemn* means prop. *annual*.

Ass. *ki'â-ma*, thus, may stand for *kiuâiâ-ma*, and Syr. *kēuât* (or *akuât*) like, for *kiuâiâiat*; it has no connection with the Aramaic sign of the accusative, *iât* (VG 315⁴). Nor is this *iât* contained in the Aramaic preposition *lěuât*, with, near, to, respecting, which is the construct state of a noun *lěuâtâ*, association < *lěuâ*, to accompany > *kiuâ*, companion. Similarly Heb. 'im, with, like, means orig. *association* which is also the primary connotation of the Assyrian preposition *ina* < *ima*, corresponding to Eg. *m*, while Ass. *ana*, to, for, appears in Egyptian as *n*. Ass. *ima* was conformed to *ana*. Similarly the Egyptian preposition *m* appears in Coptic as *n* (JAOS 43, 425⁴; JHUC 348, 48, Jan. 23).

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The Etymology of Egypt. tsm, greyhound

ERMAN transliterates the ancient Egyptian name of the greyhound *tsm*,¹ but the consonant transliterated *t*, which is used in Semitic philology for our hard *th*, was a *č*, a palatalization of an original *k* (JAOS 41, 177^m; JHUC 316, 30). The Egyptian possessive suffix of the second person plural, *čn*, was orig. *kunu* as in Assyrian (*Judges* 65, 45). The fellaheen in Palestine say *čelb* for *kalb*, dog. The sibilant in *čzm* is a *z*, but was originally an *s*; the *z* represents a partial assimilation to the *m*. We pronounce Gr. *asthma* now *azma* (AJP 45, 240).

Greyhound seems to be an adaptation of *gripe-hound*. The OD form is *grijphund*. Greyhounds course hares and foxes.² The Russian wolfhound, known as *borzor* or *borzoi*, is a large long-haired greyhound. In the same way the Scotch deerhound or staghound is a large greyhound; it is called also wolf-dog. The

¹ Cf. A. Wiedemann's remarks on the third page of his review of L. Adametz, *Herkunft und Wanderungen der Hamiten, erschlossen aus ihren Haustierrassen* (Vienna, 1920) in vol. 40 of W. Streitberg's *Anzeiger für Indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde*.

² Also the *whippet*, which is a cross between a greyhound and a terrier, is used for coursing rabbits.

Russian *borzoi* (or *psowie*) has a soft silky coat, while the coat of the Scotch staghound is shaggy or wiry.

Eg. *ksm* is a transposition of Arab. *másak*, to gripe or grip, which appears in Hebrew as *samák*, to hold, support, and in Assyrian as *kamásu*, *kanášu*, to bend, submit, prop. *to be unsupported*. In the Talmudic idiom it appears, with partial assimilation of the *k* to the *m*, as *gémáš*, to bow down (JHUC 348, 48, Oct. 4). Arab. *ámkan*, to enable, means prop. *to give the capacity*, just as Heb. *íakól*, to be able, which is connected with *kéli*, vessel, means prop. *to have the capacity*. Arab. *kámax*, *kámaḥ*, *kábaḥ*, to hold in, curb (JAOS 43, 425, l. 8) are transpositions of *makah*.

Eg. *čzm* cannot be combined with *Kasâbi*, the name of a female dog in Labîd's *mo'allaqah* or with *kayâsib*, rapacious jackals, in the same poem. The jackal is called also *abû kâsiḥ*. The rendering *wolf* is erroneous; there are no wolves in Arabia; also *ḍi'b* denotes a jackal (Jacob, *Beduinenleben* 18). *Kásab* means *to gain*, acquire.

Also the Arabic word for fish, *sámak*, is connected with *másak*, to gripe; it means prop. *something caught*; we use *catch* especially of a quantity of fish taken, and *catch*, of course, signifies also *hold*, grasp, grip. *Sámak* is a causative of *mk*. In Job 28, 11 we must read: *měšók* (cf. Arab. *mask*) *ḥokmâ mip-pěninîm*, to catch (or *fish up*) wisdom is better than corals. *Muskân*, pledge, Ass. *maš-kânu*, means *something held*. We say *to hold in pledge*, also *to hold a mortgage*. The *s* in Ass. *mussuku* or *šumsuku*, to hold back, retain, may be due to the labial as it is in *sêba*, seven, and *sâmnu*, eighth. Arab. *masík* (or *missík*) miser, is a person who is *grasping* and clinging to his wealth.

I am inclined to derive also *misk*, musk, from *masak*, to hold; *to hold out* means *to endure*, last; the name refers to the persistent odor of musk which is the most lasting of perfumes. The combination of Arab. *misk* with Skt. *muškás*, testicle, is unsatisfactory. The Sanskrit terms for *musk* are different. The musk-gland corresponds to the preputial follicles of many mammals, *e. g.* the beaver from which castor is obtained. The orifice of the musk-gland is immediately in front of the preputial aperture. Musk came to Europe through the Arabs.

Arab. *mask*, skin (Syr. *mískâ*) has no connection with this stem, but means orig. *something drawn off* (GB¹⁷ 468^b*) < *ms* > Heb. *mašân*, to draw out (cf. Arab. *másara*) and *mûš*, to withdraw; Eth.

mas(s)áka, to draw the bow; Ass. *namāšu*, to draw = to move (cf. our *to draw back* = to move back; *to draw out* = to move out; *to draw by* = to pass by; *to draw near* = to come near). Arab. *māssa*, to touch; *māsaḥa*, to wipe off; *uāmasa*, to rub, polish; *māssada*, to massage, mean prop. *to draw* the finger over something. *Massage* may be an Arabic loanword, although we have in Greek *μάσσειν*, to knead. In Assyrian we have both *mašāšu* and *pašāšu* (for *bašāšu*, with partial assimilation of *b* to *š*; cf. *dīšpu*, honey = *dībšu*) to rub, anoint (JBL 39, 159). The statement (EB¹² 17, 863) that in the Odyssey the women are described as rubbing and kneading the heroes on their return from battle is erroneous.

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The Origin of the name Veadar

The names of the months in the present calendar of the Jews are all Babylonian in origin, also the name of the intercalary month, *Veadar*. Forty-four years ago (ASKT 68, 5) I explained the Sumerian name of the twelfth Babylonian month Adar (or Addar) as *grain-cutting month* (Sum. *iti-še-kin-kut*). This designation does not refer to the harvest (*Mic.* 88¹) but to the cutting of green wheat or barley for fodder. In the Kandahar district of southern Afghanistan barley is sown in November; in March and April it is twice cut for fodder, and the grain is reaped in June (EB¹² 1, 313⁴). The Talmudic term for *green grain cut for fodder* is *šaḥt*,¹ and the modern Arabic name in Babylonian is *ḥašiš*² which is identical with the name of the intoxicating preparation of Indian hemp, from which the term *assassin* is derived: the followers of the Old Man of the Mountain, selected to do murder, were first intoxicated with *ḥašiš*. U has *šihṭā dē-mālkā* in Am. 7, 1 for *gizzē ham-mālk* (cf. *Joel*, n. 94).³ The green barley is cut in Babylonia about the middle of February. In the present year the first of Adar corresponded to Feb. 25.

Ten years ago I explained the name *Adar* as *Hoeing*. The

¹ Both *šaḥt* and *ḥāpārā* mean orig. *silage* (JBL 40, 72; contrast Fleischer in Levy 2, 208^a).

² For *ḥašiš* in Babylonia cf. BA 5, 107, l. 11.

³ L. Köhler, Amos (Zurich, 1920) p. 41 says: *Die Mahd des Königs muss eine besondere Zeit der Grünfütterernte sein*; cf. JBL 44, 67, n. 8.

initial Babylonian ' corresponded to a Heb. ' . According to Pliny (18, 254) fields were hoed before the vernal equinox. In Palestine women and children go into the fields and weed them out when the grain is well advanced toward the harvest (DB 4, 678⁴). In embolismic years of the Jewish luni-solar calendar there is an intercalary month after the Adar, which is known as the Second Adar or Veadar. In a cycle of 19 years there are 7 embolismic years. Last year Adar 1 fell on Feb. 6, and Veadar 1 on March 7. The following month (Nisan) began on April 5.

The name *Veadar* has never been explained. Twelve years ago, in my paper on the cuneiform name of the Second Adar (JBL 32, 140. 273) I called attention to Hebrew phrases like *āḥn ūa-āḥn*, a stone and a stone for *diverse weights*, or *bē-leḥ ūa-leḥ*, with a heart and a heart, for *with a double heart*; but this parallel is not convincing. One of the Babylonian names of the Second Adar was *arxu atar ša Adari*, the month in excess of Adar or *the extra Adar month*. Both *arxu* and *atar* had originally a *u* in the beginning: *uarxu*, *uatru*. Similarly *ardu*, boy, servant, appears as *uardu*, corresponding to Arab. *uālad*, boy (JHUC 348, 48, Dec. 5). The cuneiform digamma is indicated by the sign *PI*, not only in the Code of Hammurapi, but also in the inscriptions of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar (AG² §§ 24. 49). We must remember that the Greek digamma appears in the Latin alphabet as F. Amiaud suggested in ZA 2, 207 that the Ass. *p* might have been pronounced *f*. Jerome has *f* or *ph* for Heb. *p*. *Ⲫ* uses *ϕ* for Heb. *p*. We say *Pharaoh* (i. e. *fēro*) for Heb. *Par'ō*.

In the Hebrew form of the name of the eighth month *Marḥesvan* (or *Hesvan*) the initial *m* represents the original initial *u* of *arxu*, month. Babylonian *m* was afterwards pronounced *u*.⁴ Therefore *mu'allidat* = *muuallidat* (= Heb. *mē'illādī*) is written *mummallidat*, and *'aldū* = *iuualdū* = *iuualidū*, they were born: *immaldu*. In Cairo you hear *uāxid*, *uākīl* for *āxid*, *ākīl*, taking, eating, and the Bedouins of the Syrian Desert say *māxid*, *mākīl* (ZA 2, 266).

I believe that *Veadar* is haplological syllabic ellipsis for *Uadar-Adar*, Extra-Adar. The *t* in *uatar*, excess, extra, became *d* under the influence of the *r*, just as the original name of the Adriatic, *Atriatium*, became *Adriaticum* (AJP 45, 240) and *Uadar-Adar* was contracted to *Ua'adar*, just as Arab. *uailu*⁵ li-'ūmmihi, woe to

⁴ Cf. AJP 39, 307. For *u-m* cf. Arab. *u'a'akahu* = *mā'akahu* fi-'t-turābi.

his mother, is shortened to *uailúmmihi* (VG 262). An interesting case of haplological syllabic ellipsis in Old French (*jo li done* for *jo le li done* = *je le lui donne*) is discussed in *Language* 1, 19, but the expansion of the phenomenon, which is given there, is not correct.

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Heb. ärz, cedar < Ass. irêšu, balsamic juice

Heb. *ärz*, cedar (pine, juniper) is an Assyrian loanword, connected with Ass. *irêšu*, fragrant resin (OLZ 26, 273⁴). DB 1, 365^m says: The balsamic juice of the cedar exudes from every pore. The *z* in Heb. *ärz* instead of the Ass. *š* (which was pronounced *s*, ZDMG 63, 516, 35; AJP 45, 59, l. 3) is due to the *r*; cf. Eth. *uarêzâ*, youth, boy, orig. *heir* < *uarêšâ* (VG 156; JBL 36, 78^m; AJP 45, 240). The stem of Ass. *irêšu* (= *ġirâšu*; cf. *E-vowel* 18 = AJP 8, 280; AG² § 41, a) corresponds to Arab. *âġtara*, to exude nectareous (PAPS 61, 228) juice (Arab. *mîġtar* or *mîġ-fâr*, *mîġfîr*, *muġfîr* = *muġtûr*). There is a sweet exudation from the branches of the cedar, known as *cedar manna* (AJP 43, 248; PAPS 61, 227. 235). Arab. *ġâtara* is identical with the stem of Heb. 'ôšr, wealth, and Ass. *mešrû* = *mašraġu* (JBL 37, 220⁴). For the initial ' in Heb. *ärz* see ZDMG 65, 561.

Also our *cedar* is ultimately Semitic, derived from *qaṭar* (= *qatar*) produce sweet smoke, burn incense. *Nectar* is derived from the same stem which is a dialectal doublet of the stem of Ass. *irêšu* (JAOS 43, 422). After the Flood (KB 6, 240, 159) the Babylonian Noah (*Ziusutra*) offered in censers (SG 276) sweet-flag, cedar (cf. *Odys.* 5, 60) and myrtle, and their sweet odor is called *irêšu*. The leaves of the myrtle (mod. Arab. *rêhân*) are fragrant (cf. Levy's Talm. dict. 1, 454⁴). Pliny (15, 123) says: *Myrtus odoratissima Aegyptio*. The Arabic stem *áriza*, to be firmly rooted, is denominative; the root of the cedar is very strong and ramifying.

The stem of Ass. *irêšu* is identical with Arab. 'arifa, to be fragrant. The ' instead of *ġ* is due to the *r*. For 'arifa, to be fragrant, and 'arafa, to know, also to have sexual intercourse, see JBL 34, 72; JHUC 316, 24. As to the connection between discretion and puberty, which is important for the interpretation (AJP 45, 251)

of the Biblical story of the Fall of Man, we may compare the remark in Ludwig Tieck's *Der blonde Eckbert* (p. 16⁴ of the edition of the Bibliographisches Institut): *Ich war jetzt vierzehn Jahr alt, und es ist ein Unglück für den Menschen, dass er seinen Verstand nur darum bekömm't, um die Unschuld seiner Seele zu verlieren.*

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A Correction

Before the lamented death of Professor Clay, by which Assyriological study has sustained an irreparable loss, I had written a few notes on some points in his "Rejoinder," published in the June number of this JOURNAL, which seemed to me to be capable of improvement. Those notes I shall of course not now publish. As the "Rejoinder," however, contained two statements which imply moral delinquency on my part, a word of correction is necessary. The statements in question were clearly made without full knowledge of the facts.

The first of these is that I used his (Clay's) material without giving him "a semblance of credit" (p. 121). This is altogether a mistake. In no single instance did I use any material borrowed from his article. The one instance which he cites (p. 130) in support of the statement is an observation which had occurred to me on reading a note of Langdon's weeks before I ever saw Clay's MS. (see p. 12 of this volume of the JOURNAL, n. 31).

The other statement is that in text-books for students I have made statements about a mother-goddess and her son in Arabia for which there is no evidence whatever. I can only say of this that the evidence is ample and that it was published in detail in *Hebraica*, Vol. X, more than thirty years ago. Moreover a British scholar has recently added to it (cf. *AJSL* 41. 280 ff.).

I greatly regret having to make these corrections under the cloud of sadness that Professor Clay's death has cast over us all. Elsewhere I am publishing an appreciation of his work.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Streitberg-Festgabe. Herausgegeben von der Direktion der vereinigten sprachwissenschaftlichen Institute an der Universität zu Leipzig. Leipzig: MARKERT & PETTERS VERLAG, 1924. xv + 441 S.

A distinguished tribute from friends and pupils to a distinguished philologist on his sixtieth birthday. Good paper, print, and binding; with photograph and *tabula gratulatoria*, but without biography, bibliography, or index. Contributions, in German, French, or English, from fifty-four scholars in seventeen countries. So much for the externals.

The activity of recent years in the study of Balto-Slavic is reflected in the fact that this field claims a larger share of the book than any other. It is followed, approximately in order, by general Indo-European philology, Indo-Iranian, Germanic, Greek, Latin, Finno-Ugrian, Celtic, down to one contribution each in Arabic and Hittite.

Among the broader Balto-Slavic studies, A. Belić presents a new and valuable discussion of perfective and imperfective verbs in Slavic. K. Buga, whose untimely death last December is a severe loss to Lithuanian scholarship, investigates the light that place-names cast on the prehistory of the Baltic peoples. G. Gerullis contributes some historical considerations to the critical examination of the Old Prussian Enchiridion and to the problem of the extent to which this muddled translation represents the dying Prussian speech of the 16th century. R. Trautmann adds to previous historical evidence the linguistic testimony of proper names to show that the inhabitants of the district Schalauen, about the lower Memel, were Old Prussian at the time of the German conquest of Prussia. N. Trubetzkoy extends his theories of Slavic accent, and S. Mladenov writes on the syntax of Slavic sentences with the deictic particle *nà*. N. van Wijk supports Meillet's derivation of the Great Russian pronominal genitive ending *-vo* from an earlier *-go*, and J. Endzelin discusses certain details of Baltic grammar and lexicography.

In the Indo-Iranian field the longest article is that in which J. Hertel critically examines the text of the manuscript of

Śivadāsa's *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* that was recently published by Uhle, and discusses sources, redactions, manuscripts, and methods. To the numerous popular mixed recensions of the *Pañcatantra*, Fräulein Charlotte Krause, the only feminine contributor to the volume, adds one recently discovered in Old Gujarati. Its relations to other recensions are studied in detail and supported by lists of variants and agreements, and by parallel quotations. M. Bloomfield acutely interprets a Vedic stanza, and observes that Sanskrit *kavyavāhana*, as a substitute for *kravyavāhana*, was formed in aversion to the flesh-eating Agni and by contamination with *havyavāhana*, resulting then in an Agni Kavyavāhana for the manes and an Agni Havyavāhana for the gods, with *kavya* and *havya* to designate the oblations that are offered respectively to the two types of divinities. According to H. Jacobi, in a carefully developed argument, Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, and Vāsudeva were three originally different gods who merged into the Viṣṇu of classical times.

F. H. Weissbach speculates on three Achaemenian inscriptions mentioned by Herodotus, and considers generally the present state of Old Persian research. As a contribution to the study of Ossetic phonology, M. Vasmer analyzes the names with Ossetic characteristics that are preserved in the Greek inscriptions of southern Russia, and Z. Gombocz collects the linguistic traces of Ossetic influence in Hungary. H. Reichelt etymologizes the various Indo-Iranian words for salt and concludes that none go back even to the common Aryan period.

The Germanic contributions include a rather keen examination by M. Deutschbein of resultive expressions in English, as contrasted formally with inchoative, as in "thunderstruck and horror-stricken." The *Verschärfung* of intervocalic *j* and *w* in Gothic and Old Norse is explained by J. J. Mikkola, on the basis of selected and interpreted etymologies, as taking place before instead of after an originally accented syllable. As it stands, *mit Auswahl*, his material is not unimpressive. E. Mogk discusses Old Norse *mátt* and *megin* as referring to innate supernatural power in beings and things. M. Olsen offers a new interpretation of the inscription on the rune-stone of Varnum. H. Jacobsohn, W. Wiget, and K. B. Wiklund contribute helpfully to the study of Germanic loan-words in Finnish.

As the Romans left their imprint in English *Chester, Lancaster*, etc., so, B. Liebich thinks, they imposed, through the Greeks, the word *campus*, in the sense of 'army-camp, army,' on India in the form of Sanskrit *kampana* 'army,' but the evidence seems too slight to make out a strong case. R. Heinze writes persuasively on the psychology and usage of the historical present in early Latin. H. Wengler investigates enclisis and proclisis of conjunctive pronouns in Dante's prose.

E. Kieckers treats of the passive *r*-forms in Old Irish, and E. Fraenkel discusses certain grammatical and lexical parallels in Greek, Balto-Slavic, and Albanian. N. Jokl presents a characteristically comprehensive investigation of one or two Thracian words. Outside of Indo-European, L. Kettunen gives an account of the history and phonetics of final consonants in Finnish, and A. Fischer collects examples in Arabic of the *μερισμός* figure, in which a totality is expressed by two contrasting parts, like *old and young, near and far*.

On the basis of Reichelt's recent investigations (*IF* 40. 40), O. Bremer attempts to equate the palatal guttural with the labio-velar and derive the Indo-European dual form for eight from the stem of that for four. The effort is resourceful, but it requires much manœuvring for position. M. Grammont continues the study of interverson that he began in the Wackernagel *Festschrift*, and advances from interverson by transposition to the second of his two categories, interverson by penetration. With admirable technique, M. Förster discusses river-names with two forms that seem mutually to reflect Indo-European ablaut. R. Blümel's contribution is a condensed, and apparently preliminary, restatement of the elements of time and quantity in order to show how the modern accentual verse and the ancient quantitative verse are related to each other. Looking somewhat in the same direction is the longest article in the book, a comprehensive, critical, and constructive study of Greek and Latin accent and quantity by F. Saran. R. Thurneysen speculates briefly on the accusative plural forms of *n*-stems in Germanic and Indo-European, with some remarks on the question of the syllabic nasals. G. S. Keller classifies and illustrates the types of substantive ellipsis in Ukrainian. An allied but more profound and comprehensive paper is that of B. Maurenbrecher, who severely, and properly, restricts the applica-

tion of the term *ellipsis* and makes its study part of a review of the entire subject of sentence-concept and sentence-form; his title and most of his examples are limited to Latin, but his paper has general value.

Timely and interesting is H. Zimmern's contribution to the Hittite question, in which he publishes, from new cuneiform material, a transliteration and translation of the text of a Hittite myth concerning the conflict of the storm-god with the serpent. The notes deal with form and meaning, but are aimed chiefly toward showing Indo-European correspondences with the Hittite, which Zimmern, like so many other recent writers, designates straightway as Indo-European.

The remaining contributions, including articles by J. Fraser, G. Hatzidakis, E. Hermann, O. Lagercrantz, E. Lidén, J. Melich, J. Pokorny, H. F. Schmid, J. Schrijnen, F. R. Schröder, E. Schwyzer, and H. Weyhe, are devoted mainly to details of form and etymology, and for that reason it is difficult to characterize them concisely. Thus, A. Meillet proposes to relate the group of Lithuanian *beriu* 'I scatter, pour' with a root **bher-*, expressing the quick motion of flames but also and chiefly the agitation of liquids, bubbling springs, boiling water, fermenting wine: Greek *φύρω* 'I mix, soil,' Sanskrit *bhur-* 'flicker, stir (of liquids),' Old Latin *ferro* and Old Irish *berbaim* 'I boil.' But there is absolutely no ebullition in the Lithuanian word: it is used only of dry, granular particles like grain, salt, sand, ashes. Nor are there such serious difficulties, after all, in the connection (Buga, Mikkola, Trautmann) of *buria* with the **bher-* of Latin *fero* 'I bear': for one thing, the sower carries the seed (see, further, Berneker, *Slav. ety. Wb.*, 1. 50, 51).

F. Holthausen advances etymological explanations for a dozen varied Germanic words. His last item, however, surely goes by the board. English *fool*, as the name of a kind of dessert, is not identical with *fool* in the sense of "Narr," and German dishes like *armer Mann*, *Bettelmann*, *Leineweber*, *armer Ritter*, *Forstmeister*, *Mönch* can not be compared. *Fool* here means 'trick, surprise' and not 'jester, clown': even in the 16th century its synonym was given, not as *trifler*, but as *trifle*, 'a little joke.' Marion Harland's gooseberry fool fills a substantial dish, but it is merely a light and fluffy whipped egg dessert flavored with gooseberries.

At the Plaza hotel in New York is served a dessert called "Surprise Plaza": vanilla ice-cream without, strawberry jam within. *Trifle* and *surprise* are the real parallels to the edible sort of *fool*.

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Reminiscences of Vijaya Dharma Sūri. By Cṛī VIJAYA INDRA SŪRI. Allahabad: 1924. 132 pp.

Vijaya Dharma Sūri. His Life and Work. By A. J. SUNAVALA. Cambridge: UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1922. 85 pp.

Vijaya Indra Sūri is successor as Jain Ācārya to Vijaya Dharma Sūri, and in the volume of *Reminiscences* he has compiled life-sketches, obituaries, and tributes from various sources to the late Ācārya, together with an account of the installation of his statue in the memorial chapel at Shivrūpi, Gwalior. It is illustrated with portraits of the Ācārya and the chapel.

The contents of the volume are from papers and journals of various countries, but there is none from an American publication, which would indicate that Dharma Sūri was not as well known to American Orientalists as he should have been. Before his death several biographies by Europeans had been published, but the best, with the most sympathetic insight into the character and ideals of the Jain monks, is by a compatriot, though not a co-religionist, Mr. Sunavala.

Mr. Sunavala is a barrister at Bhavnagar, a center of Jainism, where two organizations, the Prasārak Sabhā and Ātmānanda Sabhā, are engaged in publishing Jain texts. The author has known the Jain Sādhus intimately and is qualified to write sympathetically and intelligently about them.

Dharma Sūri was born in Kathiawar of a Vaiṣya family. As a child he gave evidence of neither scholastic ability nor spiritual development. In fact, his career in the village school was so unpromising that his father took him into his shop when he was ten years old. He was not a success here, but spent his time and money gambling, and on one occasion lost a large amount. As a result of his reflections thereon, he attained vairāgya, and went in search of a guru. He was initiated at Bhavnagar when he was

nineteen. After his guru's death, Dharma Vijaya (as he was then known) began his wanderings as a mendicant preacher, which continued for nearly thirty years until his death. Throughout this period, he was extremely active in establishing schools and promoting education among the Jains. He succeeded in establishing a college in Benares, overcoming the opposition of the Hindus, and a few years later, upon a second visit to Benares, the title Shāstra Vishārada Jainācārya was conferred upon him by an assembly of Pandits over which the Mahārāja of Benares presided. This was no slight achievement for a Jain Sādhu.

He wrote many original works expounding Jain doctrine and published many Jain texts. He was responsible for the series called the Yashovijaya Jaina Granthamālā. His edition of Hemacandra's Yogaśāstra is worthy of note. He kept in close touch with European Jainologists and with Western publications, and it is doubtless due largely to Dharma Sūri's influence that the traditional Jain objection to allowing access to their libraries and temples seems to have disappeared. I myself was told by Mrs. Stevenson—conversant with Jain matters as she is—that it would be a "waste of time" to attempt to gain access to the temple libraries. But I found conditions to be quite the reverse and had far freer use of manuscripts than would be allowed in any occidental library.

His successor, Itihās Tatva Mahodadhi Jainācārya Vijaya Indra Sūri, has continued his policy of liberal assistance to every one interested in Jainism.

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Notes sur les Philosophes Arabes connus des Latins au Moyen Age.

By P. M. BOUYGES, S. J. [Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth (Syrie), Tome IX, fasc. 2, 1924; pp. 43-94 (69-120).]

In the middle ages Aristotle joined the east and the west. The philosophical disciplines were common in the middle ages to Jew, Christian and Mohammedan, despite the differences in religion, language and habitat. Greek was translated into Syriac, Syriac

into Arabic, Arabic into Hebrew, Hebrew into Latin, and thus the philosophic and scientific works of the Greeks and the Arabs became the common property of the Jews and the Christians. This every student knows, and it is about all that the general student is interested in. The specialist must establish this fact on the basis of detailed investigations and must trace the history of every work of science and philosophy in its peregrinations from the east to the west, and so follow up ideas to their origins. It is only in comparatively recent times that scholars have gone beyond the European libraries to investigate Oriental literature in the lands of its birth. But the search has borne fruit in a better understanding of the relations between the Oriental and Occidental nations in mediæval times. The bibliographer must come first and map out the route for the historian of ideas. The article under review is an instance of such bibliographical map-making. The author, a learned scholar of the University of St. Joseph in Beyrout, Syria, has been rummaging to good advantage in the Oriental libraries of Constantinople and elsewhere, and has brought to light Arabic Mss. hitherto unknown, which help us to solve some mediæval literary problems.

It has been known to students of scholasticism that Alfarabi, the Arab philosopher of the tenth century (870-950), was the author of a work on the classification of the sciences. In fact a Ms. of the work was known to exist in the library of the Escorial, but no one had apparently examined it. There is also in Ms. a Latin translation of the work and an edition by Camerarius of a Latin translation based on another and a different Ms. There is also an edition of a work by Dominicus Gundissallinus, a Spanish philosopher of the twelfth century, entitled "*De Divisione Philosophiae*," which treats of the same subject as the work of Alfarabi, and embodies a good deal of it. As long as the original Arabic had not been examined there were a number of questions that could not be definitely answered. The authenticity of the text was one of these. Another was the relative value of the Latin Ms. version and that of Camerarius' edition, which differ considerably. A third problem was the precise relation of Gundissallinus' "*De Divisione Philosophiae*" to Alfarabi. Now the original Arabic of Alfarabi has appeared in an Oriental review, *Al-Irfan*, and the above questions can be answered pretty definitely. Incidentally we

know now that there are at least three Mss. of the Arabic text, the one in the Escorial library, the one used in the *Al-Irfan* publication, discovered by its editor in Nagaf, in Irak, and a third discovered by the author of the article under review in the *Kuprulu* library in Constantinople.

The second part of the article discusses the authenticity and literary history of a treatise on plants, known among the Scholastics under the title "De Vegetabilibus" or "De Plantis," and attributed to Aristotle. The Latin translation used by the Scholastics was supposed to have been based upon an Arabic version, but no Arabic text was known hitherto. At the time of the Renaissance a Greek text appeared and a new Latin translation was based upon it. It was not difficult to discover that the Greek text was not an original but was itself based on an Arabic or Latin antecedent. But historians differed about the character of the work itself and its original author. Most of them regarded it as spurious, and ascribed it to Nicholas of Damascus. Some admitted an Aristotelian origin for some part of the content. Now Bouyges has discovered the original Arabic in a Ms. in the *Yeni Jami* library in Constantinople, which tells us that the work is by Aristotle in a "tafsir" of Nicholas translated by Isaac ben Honein, and revised by Tabit ben Korah. The question of its genuineness as an Aristotelian work is not yet settled, but it would seem as if Nicholas of Damascus made a paraphrase or a summary in Greek of an Aristotelian work on plants, which was translated into Arabic by Isaac ben Honein, the latter being later turned into the Latin "De Plantis" by Alfred de Sereshel.

We need more of such investigation as is shown in the present article. The equipment required for work in this line, especially in a thorough study and edition of such Arabic Mss., is quite rare, but very valuable when found. One should be a good linguist, able to use Greek and Latin as well as Arabic, Syriac and Hebrew, and should have training besides in the history of Greek and Mediæval philosophy, and in the history of science.

ISAAC HUSIK.

University of Pennsylvania.

Descriptive Catalogue of Genizah Fragments in Philadelphia. By B. HALPER, M. A., Ph. D. Philadelphia: THE DROPSIE COLLEGE, 1924. 235 pp.

Very few scholars have displayed such versatility as the late Dr. Halper. In Judeo-Arabic, in Hebrew philology, in Biblical criticism, in mediæval Hebrew poetry, in Halaka, in Midrash, in all these branches he made valuable contributions, and now he has added one more important work in the field of Bibliography. With no previous experience in this difficult branch of learning, he nevertheless produced a work that does credit to his memory.

The work before us belongs to a very small group of its kind. Hitherto there were only three catalogues of Genizah fragments, those of the Bodleian Library, of the British Museum and of the collection of Elkan N. Adler which is now the possession of the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Halper's catalogue of the Genizah fragments in the city of Philadelphia is therefore a great boon to Jewish scholars in this country.

The fragments described form five main collections, those of Dr. Cyrus Adler, of the late Judge Meyer Sulzberger, of Professor David Werner Amram, of Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, and of the late Professor Camden M. Cobern. With the exception of thirty fragments belonging to the University of Pennsylvania and six which are the property of the Y. M. H. A. of Philadelphia, all the fragments described in this catalogue are the property of the Dropsie College.

The catalogue lists four hundred and eighty-seven numbers, and these have been classified into seven groups dealing with the Bible; Talmud, Midrash and Halaka; Liturgy; Secular Poetry; Documents and Letters; Philosophy and Kabbalah; and miscellaneous. The multiplicity of subjects made the task of identification rather difficult, especially as the author was hindered by a lack of reference books. Nevertheless the author succeeded in identifying the greater number of the manuscripts, and where identification was impossible he has supplied a minute description which will prove of great help to the student.

Among the Biblical fragments which extend from No. 1 to No. 74 and comprise texts, translations, commentaries, glosses and grammars, the student will find some interesting material, espe-

cially in the matter of orthography and vocalization. In No. 24, e. g. Halper points out that the manuscript reads וְכָאֵב (Is. 17. 11) instead of the Massoretic וְכָאֵב agreeing with the Septuagint which renders this phrase καὶ ὡς παῖδες.

Among the Talmudic and Halakic fragments, which extend from No. 75 to No. 166, attention may be drawn to the Arabic original of Hefes b. Yaşliah's Book of Precepts (No. 121), which Halper published in 1915 with a Hebrew translation and a very helpful introduction; a part of ברייתא דמלאכת המשכן (No. 83) which offers an entirely different version from the one published by Friedmann; the extracts from the Yerushalmi (No. 85), of which a full table of contents is given; the twenty-two parchment leaves of the Aruk (No. 97), which prove that Rabbi Nathan divided his dictionary into books and chapters in the manner of the Arabic lexicographers, and the autograph Responsum of Abraham, the son of Maimonides (No. 159).

The branch of Jewish literature that gains most by these fragments is that of Mediæval Hebrew poetry. The fragments comprising religious poems extend from No. 167 to 311 and those comprising secular poetry extend from No. 312 to 330. These 164 fragments contain 318 poems and it is a matter of great importance to know that only 65 of them have ever been published before. The student of this branch of Jewish literature has, therefore, sufficient reason to expect to find considerable good material.

As I had the privilege of being helpful to Dr. Halper in identifying many of the poems, I have but little to add here. There are, however, a few instances which stand in need of correction or addition. Thus, e. g., in No. 258 it should be remarked that the fragment is perhaps a remnant of the *Azharot* of Nachmanides, which as we know dealt with the laws of Sukkah and Lulab (Comp. Halberstann בקרת אגרות, pp. 10-11). No. 265. 2 is probably identical with the elegy published in the Ritual of Tripolis and belongs probably to Saadya Gaon (comp. Davidson, *Thesaurus of Mediæval Hebrew Poetry*, No. 7165). In No. 275. 30 I would suggest reading אשׁא בשׁם צ״ר רוח ובשר instead of בשׁם צ״ר, i. e. "I mention the name of Him who created the spirit and flesh." In No. 275. 38 the heading needs correction as well as explanation. וְלִפְקֵי שׁוֹבְתָהּ makes no sense. Bearing in mind, however, that the poems in-

serted in the Musaph Tephilah of Sabbath or holiday are called שבעה because the parts of the poems are distributed among the seven benedictions constituting this Musaph Prayer (comp. also *Mahzor Yannai* p. 41), we at once see the significance of the 'ו and we are convinced that the following words must point to the Sabbath or festival for which this poem was intended. The emendation that suggests itself to me at the moment is לפרשת שובה. This would be in harmony with the nature of the poem.

In No. 275. 46 I suggest reading אוהלים יושב מבית אביו בְּנִלָה i. e. Jacob, who is described as a tent dweller (Gen. 25. 27) when he wandered from his father's home. The reading סִנְלָה is void of meaning here.

Undoubtedly scholars will find important material among the Documents and Letters which extend from No. 331 to No. 427, and among the philosophical and Kabbalistic fragments which extend from No. 428 to No. 442. In his preface (p. 13) the author himself has drawn attention to a number of very important documents such as Nos. 332, 342, 343, 346 and 347.

The Mss. classified as Miscellaneous extend from No. 448 to 487, and in one instance (No. 456) Halper's reading is faulty. He cites a poem קרמן אל קרמן אשרעש במש אל קרמן which he corrects into אשרעש בשם אל קרמן. The correct reading, however, is unquestionably קרמן אשרעש במשל קרמן (comp. 1 Sam. 24. 14), and the poem has been printed several times (see *Thesaurus*, No. 8490).

The most outstanding innovation in this catalogue is the index of the first lines of the poems listed in the body of the book. If the catalogues of Oxford and the British Museum were provided with similar indices their usefulness would have been enhanced tenfold. Let us hope that all future works of this kind will follow this precedent.

The catalogue appeared at the time when the author was on his death-bed, and if he had only lived a month longer he would have seen his Hebrew translation of Moses Ibn Ezra's *Kitāb Al-Muḥādara wal-Mudhākara* issue from the Stybl Press. But he was not destined to see this nor his new edition of the Responsa of Maimonides which he completed for the *Mekize Nirdamim* Society. In his untimely death, Judeo-Arabic has sustained an irreparable loss.

ISRAEL DAVIDSON.

Jewish Theological Seminary.

Du genre grammatical en sémitique. By MICHEL FÉGHALI, Maître de Conférences à la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux, and ALBERT CUNY, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux. Paris: PAUL GEUTHNER, 1924. 101 pp.

This is a brief but very compact and stimulating essay on one of the almost untouched problems of Semitic grammar, that of 'gender.' As the collaboration would indicate, the comparison with the sister-fields of linguistics appears to belong to M. Cuny's hand, while the abundant treatment of Semitic phenomena is the service of M. Féghali, who is already known for two prize-essays, *Le parler da Kfâr 'Abîda*, and *Étude sur les emprunts syriaques dans le parler arabe du Liban*. The starting point is taken from recent studies of gender by MM. Marçais and Meillet, and the thesis is maintained that as in Indo-European, so in Semitic, there was originally the primary distinction between things animate and inanimate (neuter), the former class including, or developing, a sub-class of the feminine, which in the Semitic came to displace the neuter, thus leaving but two 'genders.' Gender distinction would have begun in the pronoun and the adjective, passing on to the verb (the 'imperfect' first) and the noun. The complete vagueness of Semitic gender expression is well exhibited; the 'indices' of gender in the Arabic, *ā*, *ā'u*, *at*, cover only limited classes, and appear to belong primarily to the adjective; things male can be expressed by the feminine; the feminine is often used simply as an 'element of opposition'; the gender agreement of verb with subject is broken, especially in Arabic, by well-fixed rules; etc., etc. The greater part of the book, pp. 27 ff., consists of studies of nouns, arranged in convenient categories, which sum up the wide variations in gender treatment experienced by the most common nouns in the course of Semitic linguistics—a most useful detailed study. A convenient index of all words treated concludes the book. The writers appear to be ignorant of C. Meinhof's studies in polarization in Hamitic, a principle which throws much light on some of the problems of gender; see Worrell, 'Noun Classes and Polarity in Hamitic,' etc., in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 1, 15 ff.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY.

University of Pennsylvania.

The Khilafet. By Professor MOHAMMAD BARAKATULLAH (Maulavie), of Bhopal, India. London: LUZAC & Co. (1924.) 97 pp.

A brochure from an Indian Muslim who does not look with alarm upon the deposition of the late Sultan of Turkey and the extinction of the secular power of the Caliph. Rather, this epoch-making event clears the field for the revival of a spiritual Caliphate, the incumbent of which is to be the centre of unity and the head of propaganda for the whole Muslim world. The ultimate thesis is thus expressed: "The post of the Khalif in future should not be a close preserve of any family, any tribe or nation, but it should be open to every qualified Moslem who with faith, zeal, industry, unflinching loyalty and undaunted determination could undertake the onerous task of delivering the Divine Message to all tribes of mankind by organizing the missionary institution and sending them to the remotest corner of the earth. Consequently, let all the denominations of Islam take part in the election of the new Khalif" (p. 90), an election which the writer hoped would take place in Cairo in March, 1925. He discounts the pretensions of the Sherif of Mecca, favors Constantinople as the seat of the Caliphate, but would be well satisfied with Cairo.

The Encyclopædia of Islam. Number 28. Kaiḡobād-Kamāl Pashazāde. Leyden: Late E. J. BRILL, LTD., and London: LUZAC & Co., 1924.

This number quickly follows its predecessors. There may be noted the articles on the tribal group *Ḳais-ʿAilān* by A. Fischer, on *Kalām* by D. B. Macdonald, and *Kalila wa-Dimnah* by C. Brockelmann, as also the geographical articles by M. Streck.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY.

University of Pennsylvania.

MINOR NOTICES

Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra by King Bhojadeva. Edited by Mahāma-hôpadhyāya T. GAṆAPATI SÂSTRÎ. In two volumes. Volume I. [Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XXV.] Baroda: CENTRAL LIBRARY, 1924.

A Sanskrit work on "architecture." An elaborate table of contents, apparently compiled by the editor, facilitates the use of the book; but in view of its highly technical character, it is to be hoped that a translation will follow. It deals with the construction of cities, palaces, and mechanical constructions of all kinds, including "air-planes" in the shape of birds, celestial cars (vimāna), etc.

Oriental Affinities of the Legend of the Hairy Anchorite . . . With reference to *Die Lûgend von Sanct Johanne Chrysostomo* . . . By CHARLES ALLYN WILLIAMS. Part I: Pre-Christian. [University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. X, No. 2.] Urbana: UNIV. OF ILLINOIS PRESS, 1925.

Deals chiefly with the Enkidu episode of the Gilgamesh epic, and the Hindu legend of "Rishyasringa," as parallels to the mediæval Christian story.

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The Executive Committee, by unanimous vote, has elected the following to corporate membership in the Society:

Mr. Henry H. Hart
Mr. Wyndham Hayward
Dr. George Jeshurun
Rev. Malcolm S. Pitt

Rabbi Leon Spitz
Mr. Archibald G. Wenley
Prof. Charles A. Williams

The Executive Committee has dropped from the List of Members for non-payment of dues, under By-Law VIII, the following:

Benton, Pres. Guy P.
Bliss, Dr. F. J.
Brown, G. M. L.
Chandra, Prof. Ram.
Cohen, Dr. George H.
Dhruva, A. B.
Dunlap, Rev. Edw. S.

Edwards, Rev. J. F.
Fenlon, Rev. John F.
Gamboe, Mrs. H. P.
Greene, Miss Lily D.
Hamme, Rev. Edw. R.
Israel, Rabbi Edw. L.
Jones, Mrs. Russell K.

Keyfitz, Dr. Isadore
 Kimura, Prof. T.
 Landstrom, Prof. G.
 Look, Rev. Arnold E.
 Mack, Ralph W.
 Marget, Arthur W.
 Margolis, Rabbi H. S.
 Meyerovitz, Rabbi M. M.
 Morris, Hon. Roland S.
 Ramsey, Dean H. M.
 Reisner, Prof. G. A.

Scott, Alexander
 Seligman, Samuel
 Skirball, Rabbi Jack H.
 Snyder, Rev. Joseph E.
 Sprengling, Prof. Martin
 Teggart, Prof. F. J.
 Tripathi, Ram P.
 Welliver, Mrs. L. A.
 Westphal, Rev. Milton
 Zelson, Louis G.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

The American Council of Learned Societies (of which our Society is a constituent) has received from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial an annual subvention of \$5000 for the next three years, from which it will make small grants in aid of individual projects of research in the humanistic and social sciences. Information as to the terms of such grants can be obtained from Dr. WALDO G. LELAND, Executive Secretary, 1133 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

Mr. NARIMAN M. DHALLA, one of our members, is founding a new quarterly Journal called *Rāhnumā*, to begin publication in January, 1926. It will contain articles written in Gujarati and English and dealing with Zoroastrian religion, ethics, history, anthropology, and with all departments of Iranian studies. Contributions of original articles or reviews by western scholars are solicited.

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute has completely reorganized the staff working on its critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* (of which one book appeared in a preliminary and tentative form in 1923). Henceforth the General Editor in charge will be our fellow-member Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR. Dr. SUKTHANKAR is a Ph. D. from Berlin, and spent some time in the United States. Many of our members will remember him personally, and as a valued contributor to our Journal. His selection as editor gives assurance that this monumental and supremely important work will be guided by scholarly intelligence of a high order.

PERSONALIA

SIR RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, the greatest living Hindu Indologist and one of our honorary members, died on August 24.

Rev. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, Ph. D., of Columbia University, one of our most active members for over thirty years, died on November 9.

Miss BAPSY DASTUR C. PAVEY, A. M. (Columbia), daughter of the High Priest of the Parsis at Bombay, has gone to France to study at the University of Paris.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
American Oriental Society

AT THE MEETING IN NEW HAVEN, CONN., 1925

The annual sessions of the Society, forming its one hundred and thirty-seventh meeting, were held at Yale University, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter Week, April 14, 15, 16, 1925.

The following members were present at one or more sessions:

Abbott	Grice, Miss	Pavry, Miss
Anabtawy	Grieve, Miss	Petersen, T. C.
Archer	Hammer	Pfeiffer
Asakawa	Haupt	Pratt, J. B.
Bailey	Hitti	Reich
Barret	Hopkins	Robinson, D. M.
Bates, Mrs.	Hussey, Miss	Rudolph, Miss
Briggs, G. W.	Jackson, A. V. W.	Saunders, Mrs.
Burrows	Jackson, Mrs.	Schmidt
Butin	Johnson, Miss	Siegel
Buttenwieser	Kent, R. G.	Smith, Miss
Chapman	Kraeling, E. G. H.	Speiser
Clark	Lanman	Sturtevant
Clay	Martin	Torrey
DeLong	Martinovitch	Tyng
Dougherty	Matthews, I. G.	Uhl
Duncan	Montgomery	Ware
Edgerton, F.	Morgenstern	Williams, F. W.
Elzas	Obermann	Williams, Mrs. F. W.
Ember	Ogden, C. J.	Yohannan
Govil	Pavry, J. D. C.	Total, 62

THE FIRST SESSION

At 11 a. m. on Tuesday the first session of the Society was called to order by President A. T. Clay. The reading of the minutes of the meeting in New York in 1924 was dispensed with as they were already in print (JOURNAL 44. 142-171); there were no corrections and they were approved.

Professor Hopkins, as Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, presented its report in the form of a printed program. The succeeding sessions were appointed for Tuesday afternoon at 2.30 p. m., Wednesday morning at 9.30 a. m., Wednesday afternoon at 2.30 p. m., Thursday morning at 9.30 a. m. and Thursday afternoon at 2.30 p. m. It was announced that the Oriental Club of New Haven invited the members to an informal reception at the Faculty Club on Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock; that Yale University invited the members to a luncheon at the Lawn Club on Wednesday at one o'clock; and that the annual subscription dinner would be at the Lawn Club on Wednesday evening at 6.30 o'clock.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

The Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Charles J. Ogden, presented the following report:

The events of special concern to the American Oriental Society which the Corresponding Secretary has to report have not been many during the past year. The organization of the new Linguistic Society of America in December last is one in which we have a fraternal interest, and it is hoped that our relations with that Society, in which a considerable number of our members are already enrolled, will be so arranged as to provide for the greatest possible degree of cooperation.

In January of this year, in connection with the annual meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies, a conference of the Secretaries of the constituent Societies was held, in which your Corresponding Secretary took part. The conference this year was an experiment, but the exchange of information concerning the aims and methods of work of the various Societies, and the discussion of common problems, were found to be so enlightening that such conferences are likely to become a permanent feature of the Council's meetings. Your Secretary has also aided Mr. Waldo G. Leland, the Executive Secretary of the Council, in assembling the data concerning this Society which are to be incorporated in the 'Survey of Learned Societies' that the Council has undertaken to make. This is soon to be published in pamphlet form and should be of the greatest value to all those who are interested in the affairs of the individual Societies and to their officers and governing boards in particular.

Our intercourse with foreign Societies and institutions of learning has not been active of late, but this Society received last month an invitation to participate in the dedication on April 1st of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Word was sent at once to our members now in Jerusalem, Director Albright, Professor Gottheil, and Professor Margolis, asking them to act as our representatives and to convey the greetings of the Society

to the new University, and it is hoped that they were able to do so, although replies have not yet been received.

The internal activity of the Society continues without marked change. The membership has remained almost stationary around the figure of 600, the accessions being counterbalanced by the deaths and resignations. In numbers we are nearly the smallest of the humanistic Societies, having neither the support of a large body of teachers in the schools, which the American Philological Association enjoys, nor that of the men of affairs who belong to the Societies concerned with the social sciences. Whether it would be possible to enlist the help of the latter class without any sacrifice of the aims of exact scholarship is a question that we might well ponder, for on it would seem to depend in large measure the expansion of the Society's work.

During the year the Corresponding Secretary has received notice of the death of ten corporate members, as follows:

HENRY ALFRED TODD, Ph. D., since 1893 professor of Romance philology at Columbia University, was a leader of advanced research in his special field both as a teacher and as a founder and editor of the *Romanic Review*, but he had never ceased to be interested in general philology, and just before his death had taken an active part in the organization meeting of the Linguistic Society. Elected in 1885. Died January 3, 1925, aged 70.

REV. DR. WILLIAM COPLEY WINSLOW, of Boston, a versatile writer and scholar, through his travels became interested in Egyptian studies, and was for twenty years, from 1883 to 1903, the head of the American branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund. During this period he contributed several papers on Egyptology to the *Proceedings* of this Society. Elected in 1885. Died February 2, 1925, aged 85.

HERMANN V. HILPRECHT, Ph. D., of Philadelphia, from 1886 to 1911 professor of Assyriology at the University of Pennsylvania and curator of the Semitic section of the University Museum, had been a noted figure in Assyriological research through his archaeological work at Nippur and his publication of the results in the series entitled *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*. Elected in 1887. Died March 19, 1925, aged 65.

ALLAN MARQUAND, Ph. D., professor of art and archaeology at Princeton University since 1883, and associate editor of the *American Journal of Archaeology*, devoted himself especially to classic and Italian art, being the author of a work on Greek architecture and of many monographs on the Della Robbias. Elected in 1888. Died September 24, 1924, aged 70.

DAVID BRAINERD SPOONER, Ph. D., was an American by birth and early training but spent most of his active career in Europe and Asia. For the last twenty years he had been connected with the Archaeological Survey of India, and was Deputy Director-General of Archaeology at the time of his death. He made many important excavations and discoveries, notably of the Buddhist monuments at Peshawar and of the Mauryan remains at Pataliputra, and elaborated a theory of Iranian influence on early Indian

history, as set forth in his articles contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. He was a member of this Society from 1902 to 1906 and was reelected in 1918. Died at Agra, India, January 30, 1925.

CARLOS EVERETT CONANT, Ph. D., of Boston, formerly professor of modern languages at the University of Chattanooga and elsewhere, spent six years in the Philippines, from 1901 to 1907, first as educator and later as official translator in the Government service. He rendered parts of the New Testament into the Bisaya and Ibanag languages, and wrote his doctoral dissertation on *The Pepet Law in Philippine Languages*. From time to time he had contributed a number of articles to our JOURNAL. Elected in 1905. Died January 27, 1925, aged 54.

HENRY MALTER, Ph. D., from 1900 to 1907 professor of Judæo-Arabic philosophy at the Hebrew Union College, and since 1909 professor of Rabbinical literature at the Dropsie College, also secretary of the American Academy for Jewish Research, was a profound student of medieval Jewish and Arabic literature and the author of several books, notably one on the life and work of the Jewish theologian Saadia Gaon. At the time of his death he had just completed an edition and translation of the Talmudic tractate Taanith for the *Jewish Classics* series. Elected in 1920. Died April 4, 1925, aged 58.

Mr. SAMUEL HORCHOW, of Portsmouth, Ohio, who was elected to membership in 1920, and Mr. H. A. SEINSHEIMER, of Cincinnati, elected in 1921, should be commemorated here for their philanthropic support of the work of the Society as sustaining members.

Rev. JAMES WATT, of Lancaster, Pa., was for eight years, 1914 to 1922, connected with the American Presbyterian Mission in Northern India. He returned to the United States in order to pursue graduate study at Princeton University, and will be remembered for his kindness to the visiting members at our Princeton meeting. Elected in 1923 and died June 4 of the same year, aged 35.

Upon motion, the report of the Corresponding Secretary was accepted.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

The Librarian, Professor C. C. Torrey, presented his report and upon motion it was accepted:

LIST OF ACCESSIONS FOR THE YEAR 1924-25

- Abbott, J. E. *The "Arte de Lingoa Canari [etc.] . . . of Thomas Stevens."* [1923?]
 R. Accademia dei Lincei, Rome. Classe di scienze fisiche, matematiche e naturali. Atti . . . Rendiconti v. 23, 2d sem. v. 24-29, v. 30, 2d sem. 1914-21.
 Acta orientalia ediderunt Societates orientales Batava, Danica, Norvegica v. 2. 1924.

- K. Akademie van wetenschappen. Afdeling letterkunde. Mededeelingen 1920-22. Deel 53, ser. A, No. [1]-12; deel 54, ser. B, no. [1]-6.
- Ananda Ranga Pillai. The diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai. v. 9. 1924.
- Annual report on epigraphy . . . 1921-1922. 1923.
- Arbman, Ernst. Rudra . . . 1922.
- Bailey, T. G. Grammar of the Shina (Sina) language. 1924. (Royal Asiatic society. Prize publication fund, vol. VIII.)
- Bataviaasch genootschap van kunsten en wetenschappen. Museum. Penoendjoek djalan pada orang-orang jang hendak melihar kama intan di Gedong Artja. 1919.
- Bhasa. Vasavadatta; by V. S. Sukthankar. London, 1923.
- Bruno, Liz. Arvid. Gibeon . . . 1923.
- Burchard, E. F. The production of mineral paints in 1909 . . . Washington, 1910.
- Canada. Dept. of mines. Report. 1923.
- Catalogue of Ta-jih-pên-hsü-ts'ang-ching, transliterated by Diataro Saeki, 1915.
- Ceylon, its history, people, commerce, industries and resources. [1924.]
- Ceylon journal of science. Vol. 1, part 1. 1924.
- Chakraberty, Chandra. A comparative Hindu materia medica. 1923.
- Chakraberty, Chandra. National problems . . . 1923.
- Chakraberty, Chandra. Principles of education . . . 1922.
- Chakraberty, Chandra. A study in Hindu social polity . . . 1923.
- Dehérain, H. La mission du baron de Tott et de Pierre Ruffin auprès du Khan de Crimée . . . [1923.]
- Delaporte, L. Catalogue des cylindres orientaux . . . 1923.
- Dougherty, R. P. Archives from Erech. 1923. (Goucher college cuneiform inscriptions, v. 1.)
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The Librarian also read a letter from Mr. Andrew Keogh, Librarian of Yale University, expressing his gratification that the Directors had voted to place the Library of the Society on permanent deposit with the Yale University Library.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Treasurer, Professor J. C. Archer, presented his report and that of the Auditing Committee:

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1924

<i>Receipts</i>	
Balance, Jan. 1, 1924.....	\$3,160.48
Annual dues, 1924.....	2,535.70
Life memberships.....	225.00
Authors' reprints, corrections.....	57.58
Publication Fund.....	1,041.40
Dividends (Chicago, Rock I. & P.).....	120.00
Interest:	
Yale University.....	118.37
Liberty Bonds	189.13
Mortgage (Conn. Title Co.).....	138.58
Minn. Genl. Elec.....	50.00
Virginia Ry.....	50.00
Sale of Liberty Bonds.....	6,035.63
	<hr/>
	\$13,721.87
<i>Expenditures</i>	
Mortgage (Conn. Title Co.).....	\$6,000.00
Publication:	
Jewish Publication Society.....	400.00
Do.	400.00

Furst Company.....	451.39
Do.	503.85
Do.	499.40
Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor.....	40.08
Acct. Edgerton, Panchatantra:	
Holzhausen	400.00
Do.	1,021.20
Repayment of loan.....	500.00
Acct. Blake's Grammar.....	100.00
Dues returned (overpaid).....	5.00
Honoraria: Edgerton.....	200.00
Montgomery	200.00
Expenses:	
Treasurer 1923.....	101.06
Do. 1924.....	136.37
Secretary (inc. programs).....	151.35
Editors	42.85
Librarian	114.46
Membership Committee.....	73.75
Journal lists.....	6.29
Western Branch, AOS.....	75.00
Book reviews.....	32.00
Balance, Jan. 1, 1925.....	2,267.82
	<hr/>
	\$13,721.87

The following funds are held by the Society:

Charles W. Bradley Fund.....	\$3,000.00
Alexander I. Cotheal Fund.....	1,500.00
William Dwight Whitney Fund.....	1,000.00
Life Membership Fund.....	3,350.00
Publication Fund.....	78.50
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$8,928.50

In addition, the income of the J. B. Nies Fund of \$10,000 is now available for special purposes.

The foregoing funds (exclusive of the Nies Fund), the interest on which is used for publication purposes, are represented in the assets of the Society held by Yale University for the Treasurer of the Society. Said assets were on Jan. 1, 1925, as follows:

Cash	\$2,267.82
Real Estate mortgage @ 6%.....	6,000.00
Virginia Ry. bonds.....	1,000.00
Minneap. Gen. Elec.....	1,000.00
Chic., R. I. & P. stock.....	20 shares
U. S. Liberty Bonds.....	1,000.00

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

We hereby certify that we have examined the account of the Treasurer of the Society, and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. We have also compared the entries with the vouchers and the account book as held for the Society by the Treasurer of Yale University, and have found all correct.

CHARLES C. TORREY,
F. W. WILLIAMS,

Auditors.

Upon motion the reports of the Treasurer and the Auditing Committee were accepted.

REPORT OF THE EDITORS OF THE JOURNAL

Professor Franklin Edgerton, the senior Editor of the JOURNAL, presented the report of the Editors, and upon motion it was accepted:

During the past year greater regularity has been reestablished in the appearance of the JOURNAL, owing largely to the helpful cooperation of our present excellent printers, The J. H. Furst Company of Baltimore, whose competence in all respects cannot be praised too highly.

Volume 44 has been completed by the issuance of its last three parts, and Volume 45, Number 1, has appeared on schedule, in March, 1925.

The December number (Volume 44, No. 4) was largely filled with the Index to Volumes 21-40, prepared by Dr. R. K. Yerkes. On this account the JOURNAL is now more than usually crowded, since much excellent material has necessarily been held over. To the contributors who have suffered from this unavoidable delay the Editors wish to express gratitude for their uniform patience.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON,
JAMES A. MONTGOMERY,

Editors.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Corresponding Secretary presented the report of the Executive Committee, as printed in the JOURNAL (44. 272 and 45. 96); upon motion the actions of the Committee were ratified.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were duly

elected corporate members of the Society (the list includes two who were elected at a later session) :

Mr. Nazmie H. Anabtawy	Mr. Wallace H. Miner
Mrs. Maud Skidmore Barber	Mr. Lewis C. Moon
Mr. George Bobrinskoy	Prof. George F. Moore
Rev. Millar Burrows	Mr. Alex. Nennsberg
Mr. K. Chattopadhyaya	Rabbi J. J. Schwartz
Prof. John R. Denyes	Mr. C. R. J. Scott
Prof. Morton S. Enslin	Rabbi J. L. Siegel
Mr. Hari G. Govil	Dr. E. A. Speiser
Mr. Benj. F. Gravely	Rev. Ferris J. Stephens
Mr. V. T. Hammer	Prof. W. R. Taylor
Rev. Franklin Joiner	Rabbi Sidney S. Tedesche
Rev. Conrad W. Jordan	Dr. William Thomson
Prof. Andrew Keogh	Mr. Edwin H. Tuttle
Mr. Leland Mason	Prof. Edwin E. Voigt

[Total: 28]

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Professor N. Schmidt, for the Committee on the Nomination of Officers for 1925, reported nominations for the several offices as follows:

President: Professor WALTER E. CLARK, of Chicago.

Vice-Presidents: President JULIAN MORGENSTERN, of Cincinnati;

Professor HENRY HYVERNAT, of Washington, D. C.; and

Professor MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, of Baltimore.

Corresponding Secretary: Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, of New York City.

Recording Secretary: Dr. LUDLOW S. BULL, of the Metropolitan Museum, New York City.

Treasurer: Professor JOHN C. ARCHER, of New Haven.

Librarian: Professor ANDREW KEOGH, of New Haven.

Editors of the Journal: Professor FRANKLIN EDGERTON, of Philadelphia, and Professor MAX L. MARGOLIS, of Philadelphia.

Directors, term expiring 1928: Professor ALBERT T. CLAY, of New Haven; Professor LEROY C. BARRET, of Hartford; and Professor PAUL HAUPT, of Baltimore.

The officers thus nominated were duly elected.

The Corresponding Secretary made a report on the activities of the American Council of Learned Societies, particularly the incor-

poration of that body; and on recommendation of the Directors it was voted: that the American Oriental Society does hereby ratify the action of the American Council of Learned Societies in amending the Constitution of that body by substituting therefor the Constitution as printed in their Bulletin, No. 3, pp. 30 and 31.

It was voted: that the Society express to Mr. Adolph S. Ochs and the New York Times Company its cordial appreciation of the splendid gift to the American Council of Learned Societies for the preparation of a Dictionary of American Biography.

President A. T. Clay delivered an address on Recent Discoveries and Research in the Near East.

The session adjourned at 12.54 p. m.

THE SECOND SESSION

The second session was called to order at 2.33 o'clock on Tuesday afternoon; the reading of papers was immediately begun.

Professor JAMES A. MONTGOMERY, of the University of Pennsylvania: (a) Report on a Photographic Reproduction of the Alleged Ancient Samaritan Codex at Nablus; (b) Two Hebrew Seals from Palestine. Remarks by Professor Torrey.

Professor N. MARTINOVITCH, of Columbia University: The Garrett Collection of Oriental Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library. Remarks by Professors Haupt and Jackson.

In 1900-1904 Messrs. Garrett, of Baltimore, purchased a collection of Oriental manuscripts consisting of about 1700 items and deposited it in the Library of Princeton University. Professor Houtsma gave a catalog of 1194 Arabic and Turkish Mss. of this collection. Dr. Littmann published a list of 355 Arabic Mss. The author of this paper, who is engaged with Princeton University for the description of the rest of this collection, gives a brief outline of 13 Turkish and 64 Persian Mss.

Professor F. W. WILLIAMS, of Yale University: A Chapter in Early Chinese History. Remarks by Professor Haupt.

Professor NATHANIEL REICH, of the Dropsie College: The Biblical Term 'Mizraim' and 'Egypt.' Remarks by Professors Haupt and Ember and Dr. Chapman.

Distinction between the two names explained on the basis of Biblical, Assyrian, and Egyptian texts. Determination of the geographical extent of some of the names of the Egyptian territory.

Professor LEROY C. BARRETT, of Trinity College: The Contents of the Kashmirian Atharva Veda.

This paper deals mainly with a comparison of the contents of the Kashmirian AV and of the vulgate, following the standard groupings of the hymns of the latter. The paper also points out that the Kashmirian AV has more Rig Veda hymns than the vulgate.

Professor K. ASAKAWA, of Yale University: A Comparison of the Relation of the Japanese *Kuni*-Governorship and of the Frankish Countship to the Rise of Feudalism in the Respective Countries.

From the relatively greater control exercised by the Japanese state over the *kuni*-governor than was done by the Merovingian and Carolingian kings over the count, and from a set of complex but mutually related causes, the former official never succeeded, as did the latter, in making of his sphere a feudal state and himself its military lord. Further significant difference is seen in the relation of the two offices to the institution of immunity in the two countries, and consequently in the relation of immunity to feudalism.

Professor CHARLES C. TORREY, of Yale University: The Exiled God of Sarepta. Remarks by Dr. Ogden.

Professor FRANKLIN EDGERTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: (a) Aesop and the Panchatantra; (b) Slavonic Versions of the Panchatantra. Remarks by Professors Morgenstern and Haupt, and Dr. Chapman.

(a) For nearly every Panchatantra fable, alleged parallels have been found among Greek and Roman fables. But nearly all these parallels are illusory. Of the 37 fables in the original (reconstructed) Panchatantra, only two are really genetically related to Greek fables. These are the Ass in Panther's (Lion's) Skin, and the Ass (Deer) without Heart (and Ears). In both cases the Greek forms are clearly secondary as compared with the Hindu. These two fables appear in Greece only in the 2d and 3d centuries A. D.; they were derived ultimately from older popular (oral) Indian versions, not from the Panchatantra itself.

(b) The standard works on the history of the Panchatantra in Europe (Chauvin, *Bibl. des ouvrages arabes*, II, and Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*) are full of errors regarding Slavonic versions, owing to the authors' ignorance of Slavonic languages. Of nine different Slavonic versions listed in Hertel, only five ever existed as actual and distinct versions. This paper lays the four literary ghosts, and summarizes the real facts regarding the Slavonic versions, mainly on the basis of Russian authorities.

Rev. Dr. L. L. UHL, of Cambridge, Mass.: A Contribution towards the Identification of the Soma Plant of Vedic Times. Remarks by Dr. Ogden.

It has been maintained that the Vedic soma plant is not an *Asclepias*, or a *Sarcostemma*, but is another genus of the *Asclepiad* family,

namely Ephedra, and that *Sarcostemma* is a substituted, and modern, soma plant. In support of these conclusions it has been urged that Ephedra is a mountainous plant, not one of the plains, that it is a leafy plant, and that it abounds in Asia. The writer has, in a botanical way, frequently met with *Sarcostemma brevistigma*, about lat. 15°, South India, finds it is called the soma plant, knows of three instances of soma sacrifice, and is persuaded that *Sarcostemma* is at least the genus of the ancient soma plant. Points adverse to this view, as well as those supporting it, are briefly considered.

Dr. E. A. SPEISER, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Hittite Letters of Arzawa.

This paper gives a translation of the first two Hittite documents in point of discovery. The first letter had been translated into German before the discoveries of Boghaz-köi, hence the translation is now scarcely tenable for the most part. The second letter has never been translated into any language, so far as the writer knows. A sketch of the Hittite grammar, as exemplified by these letters, is also given.

Rev. Dr. B. A. ELZAS, of New York City: The Sardis Bilingual Inscription. Remarks by Professors Obermann and Torrey.

The session adjourned at 5.15 o'clock.

THE THIRD SESSION

The third session was called to order at 9.34 o'clock on Wednesday morning; the reading of papers was immediately begun.

Rev. Dr. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, of Columbia University: A Turkish Ms. of Kalilah and Dimnah, dated 13th Century A. D.

Dr. WILLIAM J. CHAPMAN, of the Hartford Theological Seminary: (a) Chronological Table to the Problem of Inconsequent Post-dating; (b) Notes on Hosea 11: 1.

(a) The Table, exhibiting a consecutive series of years from the division of the kingdom to the Exile, presupposes, (1) that the synchronisms of I-II Kings, so far as they have been correctly transmitted, are more likely to have had an immediate and practical origin than other chronological data in the same context: (2) That the anomalous mode of dating in II Kings 15: (13), 17, 23, is an item of 'past politics' and hence of unusual value; and (3), that the Babylonian date for Pulu's 'taking the hands of Bel' is to be preferred to that of the Assyrian Canon, with the consequent probability that, in the latter source, the expedition against Sapia has been intentionally antedated by about two years.

(b) It has been commonly supposed, and very naturally, that the expression *libhni*, '[for] my son,' must be interpreted by the context in which it occurs, i. e., that we have to do with a problem of diction. Typical opinions are those of Wellhausen, *Kl. Propheten* (p. 127), and Marti, *Dodekapropheten* (p. 86 f.). The probability is that Hosea used an age-old expression quite independent of the context in which he employed it. The citation in Matt. 2: 15 shows that the Massoretic Text has a respectable antiquity, going back at least to the first century of the Christian Era.

Dr. ROBERT H. PFEIFFER, of Harvard University: Edomitic Wisdom. Remarks by Professors Haupt, Bittenwieser, Obermann, Montgomery, Dr. Elzas, and the author.

Edom was famous for its sages (Jer. 49, 7; Obad. 8; cf. 1 Ki. 5, 10 f.), although some Jews would deprive their inveterate foe of this distinction (a gloss in Obad. 7, "there is no understanding in it" [i. e. in the mount of Esau], flatly denies Obad. 8b; cf. Jer. 49, 7 [LXX] and 1 Bar. 3, 23). Some portions of the Edomitic wisdom literature were incorporated in the Hebrew Scriptures (cf. Gen. 36, 20-39, a fragment of an Edomitic history): they are in part adaptations of Egyptian wisdom (Prov. 22, 17-23, 14; Ps. 104) and in part original compositions (Prov. 30, 1-31, 9; Job).

Professor JULIAN J. OBERMANN, of the Jewish Institute of Religion: An Important Document of Judeo-Mohammedan Religious History.

This paper attempts a preliminary religious-historical analysis of a work attributed to Nissim b. Jacob and known under the title *Hibbūr Yāphē mē-ha-Yeshū'a*. While a critical examination of this famous Hebrew work made modern scholars suspect it to be a translation from the Arabic, a thorough study of its actual Arabic original, the only manuscript of which, discovered and identified by Harkavy, is now in New York, proves it to be of fundamental importance for the history of the religious and cultural contact between Islam and Judaism. It reveals both linguistic and cultural-historical manifestations of this contact which have not yet been submitted to scientific investigation.

Professor CHARLES R. LANMAN, of Harvard University: (a) The Case-Forms used in Sanskrit and Pali to express the *From*-relation; (b) The King of Siam's New Volumes of Pali Texts and Commentaries. Remarks by Professors Hopkins, Kent, Edgerton, Sturtevant, Dr. Ogden and Dr. Speiser.

(a) The situation is briefly this: in the plural and dual of *all* declensions, and in the singular of *all* declensions, with *one* exception, there is no special form to express the *from*-relation, that is, no truly ablative form. For the *a*-stems alone, and for them only in the singular, there exists an ablative case-ēnding, namely, *āt*. For the

singular of non-*a*-stems, the *from*-relation is expressed by the case-form of the genitive; and for the plural and dual of *all* stems, it is expressed by the case-form of the dative.

That this procedure is a mere make-shift is clear from the fact that the genitive-form is used in the singular, and the dative in the dual and plural. This is made yet more clear by the wavering usage of the Pali, in which the *from*-relation is often expressed by the case-form of the instrumental. The facts of the Vedic dialect deserve a new and careful sifting from this point of view. That this matter has an important practical bearing upon method in teaching the inflections, is obvious.

(b) An account of the fourteen new volumes, with the substance of the King's *Pavedanam*, or 'Announcement.' With a note on the interest and value of the Royal gift to American libraries, and bibliographical aids for the cataloguers.

Professor R. P. DOUGHERTY, of Goucher College: Nabonidus and Belshazzar. Remarks by Dr. Chapman and Professor Haupt.

New light on the campaigns of Nabonidus confirms the view that he made *Temâ* (modern Teimâ) his headquarters in Arabia, having entrusted the kingdom (*šarrûtam*) in Babylonia to Belshazzar. That *Temâ* became a sort of capital is indicated by the statement that Nabonidus made it "like the palace of Babylon" (*kima êkal Bâbîlikî*). These facts make possible a re-interpretation of biblical, cuneiform and classical passages dealing with the closing events of the Neo-Babylonian empire.

Professor WALTER E. CLARK, of the University of Chicago: The Brahman̄ḍa Purāṇa. Remarks by Dr. Abbott and Dr. Uhl.

An account of work being done on the Purāṇas in preparation for a book on the mythology of the Purāṇas and for a comparison of parallel passages which may eliminate many of the later interpolations. A discussion of the great importance of the Brahman̄ḍa Purāṇa both in its Indian form and in its Balinese version for the study of the whole problem of the date and early form of the Purāṇas.

Professor PAUL HAUPT, of the Johns Hopkins University: (a) The Jewish intercalary month Veadar; (b) Eg. *ēzm*, greyhound, and Arab. *samak*, fish; (c) Syr. *akūāf*, like, and *kāmuēfā*, window; (d) The Assyrian suffix -*ja*. Remarks by Professors Bittenwieser and Montgomery, Dr. Speiser, and the author.

(a) Adar, the twelfth Babylonian month, means *hoeing* (Adar 1 = Feb. 17, '25). The original form of Veadar was *Uatar-Adari*, Extra-Adar (OLZ 18, 360). Under influence of *r uatar* became *uadar* (AJP 45, 340) and *Uadar-Adar* was shortened to *Ua'adar* (haplogical syllabic ellipsis). Arab. *yaʿlun li-'ummihī*, woe to his mother, is contracted to *yaʿlūmmihī* (VG 262). Initial *y* is preserved also in

Marcheshvan (> Hesvan) = Bab. *Uraṣ-sāmna*, eighth month (ZA 2, 266). Bab. *m* was pronounced *w* (AJP 39, 307). The *s* in *sāmnu*, eighth (OLZ 16, 531) instead of *š* is due to the labial (contrast VG 166, 7; 486, 7).

(b) Eg. *čzm*, greyhound (*z* due to *m*) = *ksm* = Arab. *másak*, gripe (cf. OD *griphund*, catching hares, foxes, wolves; Russ. *borzoi*) = Heb. *samák*, support (prop. *hold*) and Ass. *kaṁāsu*, *kaṁāšu* (ZA 33, 67; JHUC 348, 48, Oct. 3) < *mk* > Arab. *mákāt*, *mákat*, *mákad*, halt, also *mákun* and *ámkan* (cf. Heb. *jakól*, AJSL 22, 205) as well as Heb. *šēkém*, shoulder (JBL 32, 113; 38, 49; AJP 40, 71) and Arab. *kámaṣ*, *kámaḥ*, *kábah*, hold in, curb (< **mákah*). Not connected with *Kasābi* (name of a female dog) and *kaṁāsib*, rapacious (jackals) in Labid's *mo'allagah* (contrast JHUC 341, 48; Jan. 10). Arab. *samak*, fish (S of *mk*) orig. *catch* (cf. *mask*). *Misk*, musk, prop. *holding* = persistent, lasting.

(c) Syr. *akuāt*, like = *kiṁāiat*; *kāyūēṭā*, window = *kaṁiat*; Ass. *ki-ām*, thus = *kiṁāiā-ma*. Heb. *kē*, like = *kī* (cf. Aram. *dē* = *dī*) = *kiyi*, orig. *light*, then *kindling*, causing to burn (cf. Heb. *ór* and Arab. *áyūara*) > Heb. *kēyīā* and *kī*, brand. *Light* may also denote something *admitting light* (cf. *kaṁūn*, lights, windows, Dan. 6, 11) or something *reflecting light* and *forming images* (cf. Ass. *mušālu*, mirror, and *tamšīlu*, likeness; JBL 36, 141).

(d) Ass. *Aššūrā'a*, Assyrian = *Aššūraia*; *Aššūrā* = *Aššūraju* (AJSL 1, 179; later. Suffix *-ia* = *iāt*, being: Aram. *qaḏmāiā*, first, prop. *front-being*. Also final aleph in Heb. *hū* (BA 1, 169; 296) and *t* of Hithpael remnants of *iāt* = Heb. *ōt* (Arab. *iā* = *inna* + *iāt*) while Assyrian adverbial ending *-iš* (= Syr. *-it*; cf. Ass. *ašū*, being, creature; Eng. *-ly* = *like*, body) = Heb. *ieš* (JHUC 354, 49, l. 20, 334, 604). Suffix *-iā* shortened to *-i* (WdG 1, 253, l. 7; 2, 87, C) and identical with genitive ending (*kingly crown* = *king's crown*). For ZS 3, 17, l. 17 see VG 303, l. 10; cf. also OLZ 12, 212*).

Professor MOSES BUTTENWIESE, of the Hebrew Union College: The Text Transmission of Job.

The session adjourned at 12.40 o'clock: at the luncheon which followed President Angell of Yale University welcomed the Society in an appreciative speech.

THE FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session was called to order at 2.34 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon: the reading of papers was immediately begun.

Professor E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, of Yale University: The North-Western Recension of the Rāmāyaṇa. Remarks by Dr. Ogden and Professor Edgerton.

This paper presents a comparison of this text with the other recensions.

Professor JAMES B. PRATT, of Williams College: The Buddhist Revival in China. Remarks by Professor Hopkins and Dr. Uhl.

Beginnings of the Revival in Boxer times. Increased impetus since the fall of the Manchus. Attempts at propaganda. The Li Shang Hui. The Young Men's Buddhist Association. Intellectual and educational movements. Mr. Ouyang's Buddhist College in Nanking. Tai Hsu's Buddhist College in Wu Chang. Other educational movements. Present prospects.

Professor PHILIP K. HITT, of the American University of Beirut: Oriental Studies in Syria. Remarks by Professors Montgomery and Torrey.

In recent years and with the awakening of national life, a new impetus has been given to Oriental studies in Syria including the language and history of the land. The newly organized Arab Academy of Damascus, the Jesuit University at Beirut and the American University of Beirut are the three great centers where the study of Arab history and Arabic language and literature is being fostered to an extent unknown in the past. The Arab Academy of Damascus has a museum, a library and a monthly publication of its own. The Jesuit University has its own press, monthly and periodical publications, and two research professors in the field of Arab history and literature. All three professors in the department of history at the American University of Beirut have chosen different periods of Oriental history as their special fields of endeavor.

Rev. GEORGE W. BRIGGS, of Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Field Work on the Gorakhnathis. Remarks by Professor Clark and Dr. Uhl.

The *Kānpāṭa* yogis are a Śaivite sect following Gorakshanātha, a sectarian of the latter part of the twelfth century. They worship Śiva, especially as Bhairava, and Śakti. Initiation centers around investiture with a sacred thread and the splitting of the ears. Two vows, of celibacy and of poverty, are of interest because of exceptions which these yogis make. Their chief seat is at Gorakhtilla, but they have establishments all over India. Some of these seats are much older than the sect. Their text-books may be described as tantric treatises on yoga.

Rev. Dr. E. G. H. KRAELING, of Union Theological Seminary: The Ancient Cult of Hebron. Remarks by Professor Buttenwieser.

Hebron is connected particularly with the cult of the dead. The god of the dead is a phase of the solar divinity Shamash, so that the cult of Hebron must have been a solar cult. Judges 16: 1-3 is originally a cult myth that accounted for the origin of a Shamash sanctuary at the high-place of Hebron.

Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, of Columbia University: Notes on the Manichæan Cosmological Fragment M. 98-99. Remarks by Dr. Yohannan.

President JULIAN MORGENSTERN, of the Hebrew Union College: The Date and Historical Background of the Ten Commandments.

Rev. Dr. JUSTIN E. ABBOTT, of Summit, N. J.: Eknath's Version of the Bhikshugīta, or 'The Mendicant's Song.'

The Maratha saint Eknath, who died in 1609, was the author of a very extended commentary on the eleventh Skandha of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. In the 27th chapter is Eknath's version of the Bhikshugīta, or the Mendicant's Song. In the form of a parable, he portrays in detail and in very vivid style the life of a very rich miser, who stopped at nothing in order to add to his riches. But the 'five enemies of wealth' took all and left him in abject poverty. He now repents, he sees life in its true light, he becomes a sanyasi, and returning to his old home suffers persecution, but being reviled reviles not again, and shows that the heart can be in perfect peace, even under the stress of insult and injury.

Professor CHARLES F. KENT, of Yale University: A New Venture in Education.

Professor NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, of Cornell University: Is Canticles an Adonis Litany?

There is no objection against assuming that worshippers of Tammuz in Israel and Judah used songs like those indicated in a Babylonian catalogue. But the similarity between these and Canticles is very slight. The lyrics of Canticles nowhere suggest a religious purpose. There is no hint of an intention to awaken by imitative magic the life of nature and thus to secure the blessings of the womb and of the fields. The spices used in the anointing oil were also found in the homes of the rich. The couch of the thoughtless wife in Prov. 7 was perfumed with myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon; and lovers innocent of the Tammuz cult rejoiced in wine, nuts, and pomegranates. That certain *hapax legomena* in this *diwan* also occur occasionally in Babylonian is no evidence that they are loan-words. The language appears to be late.

Rev. Dr. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, of Columbia University: The Value and Usage of the Letter *Beth* in some of the Oriental Languages.

Professor DAVID M. ROBINSON, of the Johns Hopkins University: The Excavations at Antioch in Pisidia.

The session adjourned at 5.45 o'clock.

THE FIFTH SESSION

The fifth session was called to order on Thursday at 9.42 o'clock.

It was reported that the Directors had decided to meet during Easter Week in 1926 at Philadelphia, on invitation from the University of Pennsylvania, Dropsie College, and the Sesquicentennial Celebration Committee.

The Corresponding Secretary reported for the Committee on Enlargement of Membership and Resources that some progress had been made in developing its plans.

The Committee on Occasional Publications reported that Edgerton's *Pañcatantra* had been published, and that Blake's *Grammar of the Tagalog Language* had been printed and the copies were on the way to the United States.

President Clay reported the action of the Directors in undertaking to assist in the publication of a *Library of Semitic Inscriptions*, and explained something of the nature of the proposed volumes.

The Corresponding Secretary made a brief statement concerning the budget adopted by the Directors.

The President appointed as a Committee on Arrangements for the meeting in Philadelphia in 1926: Professor Montgomery, Mrs. Jastrow, Mr. Schoff and President Cyrus Adler.

As a Committee on the Nomination of Officers for the year 1926, he appointed: Professors Hopkins and J. B. Pratt and Dr. Duncan.

As Auditors he appointed Professors Torrey and F. W. Williams.

It was voted: that the Corresponding Secretary send the felicitations of the Society to the Arab Academy of Damascus.

The following resolution was adopted:

The American Oriental Society, assembled in its Annual Meeting, 1925, desires to record its deep appreciation of the courtesies extended to it by Yale University, attentions which have marked the meeting as a most agreeable and memorable occasion.

The thanks of the Society are due to the President and Corporation of Yale University for the freedom of that distinguished institution and for its hospitality at luncheon; to the Biological Department for the use of its Lecture Hall; to the Oriental Club of New Haven and the Graduate Club for their open and warm hospitality; and very particularly and personally to the local Committee of Arrangements, Professors Hopkins,

Archer, and Torrey, for their delicate planning and execution of a program of entertainment which overlooked nothing in the care of their guests.

It was voted: that the Society express its thanks to Professor Barret who retires from the office of Recording Secretary.

The reading of papers was then begun.

Dr. ETTALENE M. GRICE, of Yale University: Progress on the Sumero-Babylonian Sign List.

Dr. E. A. SPEISER, of the University of Pennsylvania: Vocalic *n* in Assyrian. Remarks by Professor Haupt.

This paper attempts to show that the nasals could assume in Semitic a vocalic function; this process is best seen in the imperative of the Assyrian *prima*-*n*-verbs, where the *n* actually occurs as a vowel.

Professor LEROY C. BARRET, of Trinity College: The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book Twelve.

Professor WALTER E. CLARK, of the University of Chicago: The Hindu-Arabic Numerals. Remarks by Professors Haupt and Hitti, Dr. Ogden and Dr. Uhl.

A criticism of Kaye's so-called scientific method of proving that the numerical symbols with place value are not Indian in origin and of the positive theory of Kaye and Carra de Vaux that they originated with the Neo-Pythagoreans. A presentation of the most important data of Indian literary tradition and an effort to show that it has validity for historical purposes.

Professor PHILIP K. HITTI, of the American University of Beirut: *Nazm-ul-Tkyān fī A'yān-il-A'yān*, an Unpublished Manuscript by as-Suyuti. Remarks by Professor Torrey.

This is a biographical dictionary by the famous Egyptian historian, as-Suyuti (d. 1505). There is only one manuscript in the Arabic-speaking world and one in Leiden. The manuscript has never been published. It contains brief biographical sketches of the lives of some of the most distinguished men of the fifteenth century A. D. in the Muslim world. A number of emendations and corrections based on comparisons with other sources, especially as-Sakhawi, will be made.

Professor JAMES A. MONTGOMERY, of the University of Pennsylvania: Some Intensive Noun Formations of Secondary Origin in the Semitic. Remarks by Professors Haupt and Ember, and Dr. Ogden.

The following papers were read by title:

Dr. GEORGE A. KOHUT, of the Jewish Institute of Religion: The Original Jewish Source of Longfellow's Scanderbeg in 'Tales from a Wayside Inn.'

This paper reviews some of the Jewish traditions in Longfellow's poems and devotes special attention to the origin of *Scanderbeg*, the Hebrew prototype of which no one has hitherto scanned and analyzed. The story follows closely the Hebrew version recorded in an important historical chronicle of the sixteenth century. There is an Albanian version of Longfellow's own poem by Bishop Noli, whose fuller account of Scanderbeg's exploits, learnedly documented, has recently been issued by the Dielle Press in Boston (1921). Other literary accounts of Scanderbeg are also mentioned. Furthermore, Longfellow's 'Spanish Jew,' Edrehi, in the 'Tales,' is a real personage, and the writer of this paper seeks to identify him with a curious character of the same name, who is mentioned by other distinguished English writers.

Dr. ISRAEL EFROS, of the Baltimore Hebrew College: Some Glosses on the Book of Job.

Professor AARON EMBER, of the Johns Hopkins University: (a) A Note on Job 37: 23; (b) Several Semitic Etymologies.

(a) Verse 23^a *šaddai lō m'ṣanūhū*, the Almighty—we do not find him, belongs to the preceding verse (Duhm). Before *saggi kōqā* (23^b) the pronoun *hū* has fallen out by haplography, and it has to be restored. For the Masoretic *š'rob qēdāqā* (23^c), and an abundance of righteousness, we must read *š'rib qaddiq*, and the cause of the righteous one. It is not necessary to change the Masoretic *i'annē* (23^c) to *i'ammē*. 23^c is therefore to be read:

hū saggi-kōqā ūmišpāt š'rib qaddiq lō-i'annē

Being great in might and judgment,
the cause of the righteous He will not wrest.

(b) Eg. *ismr*, kind of stone = Assy. *ēmaru*; cf. Heb. *šāmīr*, Greek *σάμις*, Ital. *smerviglio*, French *émeri*, English *emery*.—Talmudic *gālā* or *qallā*, stone, is etymologically connected with Heb. *siqqēl*, to free from stones.—Heb. *hāšaq*, be attached, love = Arab. *ʿāsiqa*, be attached, love passionately (the *h* of *hāšaq* being due to part. assimilation of the original ' to the following surd).—Aram. & Syr. *ruqbā*, skin-bottle = Arab. *qirbat*, skin-bottle (metathesis).—Eg. *m'ḅ 3*, thirty = Talmudic *m'ubbār*, intercalated.—The orig. meaning of Eg. *nb*, gold (Copt. *nābe*) is *fusible* < *nbi*, burn > flame = Assy. *nablu*, flame, Arab. *nabl*, arrow, orig. *flash*. Arab. *nafl*, present, gift, is identical with *nabl*, arrow, the original stem being *nfl*, the *b* of *nabl* etc. being due to part. assimilation.

Rev. Dr. WILLIAM ROSENAU, of the Johns Hopkins University: A Note to Joel 1: 14.

This passage helps to establish the lateness of the authorship of the Book of Joel. A solemn assembly—a fast—for the elders and all the inhabitants of the land could not have been commanded to be observed in "The House of the Lord" until the expression "The House of the Lord" ceased to refer only to the Temple, where no one but priests had access. It must have referred to synagogues, as organized institutions established throughout the land, where people, irrespective of particular Jewish descent, were accustomed to meet in prayer.

Mr. CLARENCE S. FISHER, of Valley Forge, Pa.: America's Place in Future Archaeological Research.

This paper deals with the work which American expeditions have done in the past, in Palestine and Babylonia especially, and her great opportunity for continuing to set the standards of systematic and careful research in the future. Every condition is most favorable for active field exploration and the field is enormous. Only by great undertakings can we continue to increase our knowledge of the past and fill in the literary and historical gaps which are at present so evident.

Mr. CONRAD W. JORDAN, of the Johns Hopkins University: (a) 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself'; (b) Heb. *neḥḥ*, glory, juice, perpetuity.

(a) Heb. *uē-ahabṭā rē'ākā kamōkā* does not mean *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself* (Heb. *kē-napšēka*) or *Thou shalt love thy neighbor because he is the same as you* (Heb. *kī kamōhu kamōka*) but, according to Haupt, *Thou shalt love thy fellow-being as thine equal*, i. e. *without any condescension*, not regarding him as an inferior. *Rē'* is a transposition of Arab. *ḡāir*, other (cf. *Ezra-Nehemiah*, SBOT, 66, 35). Also *ra'*, evil, is identical with this word; cf. pB. *aḥḥér*, Gr. *érepos*, Lat. *altera avis*, Fr. *s'altérer*. For the *ḡ* in *ra'*, evil, cf. Ass. *raggu*.

(b) Professor Haupt reads *lam-minḡāḥ* instead of *la-mnaḡḡḥ* (GB¹⁷ 517*) < *naḡāḥ* (> *neḥḥ*, glory; *niḡḡāḥōn*, victory) be bright; cf. Ass. *niḡḡātu*, music, and Heb. *noḡḥ*, shine; our *glee*, mirth and music; *violin* < *vitulari* = Ger. *kälbern* (JHUC 345, 49). Root of Heb. *minḡāḥ* appears in Arab. *ḡāḥiḡa*, be bright; *ḡāḥḡaḡa*, *nāḡaḡa*, *nāḡa'a*, *ḡāruḡa* (< *ḡānuḡa*) be clear, pure; *ḡāḥḡa*, be flawless. Heb. *neḥḥ*, juice, blood (JHUC 163, 50^b) corresponds to Arab. *nāḡaḡa*, *nāḡaza*, *dāḡza* = *rāḡza* (WZKM 31, 285). Stem of Heb. *neḥḥ*, perpetuity (*ḡ* due to *ḥ*, and *n* = *r*) = Arab. *ḥālisa*, continue.

Professor ALBERT T. CLAY, of Yale University: Two Unpublished Amarna Tablets in the Metropolitan Museum.

Mr. A. J. LEVY, of the Johns Hopkins University: (a) Some Semito-Egyptian Etymologies; (b) Heb. *šēḥāl* and Arab. *bālad*.

(a) Eg. *inp*, child = Arab. *ibn*, son; Eg. *šhr.t*, a precious stone = Heb. *šōḥér̄t̄*, a precious stone; Eg. *zpn.t*, price = Arab. *táman*, price; Eg. *pḥr*, go, run = Heb. *baráh*, run away; Eg. *dḡt̄*, tread = Arab. *dá'isa*, tread; Eg. *sy 3*, guard = Heb. *šamár*, keep; Eg. *nḥ*, wail = Arab. *nāḥa*, mourn, wail; Eg. *hpi*, run = Heb. *ḥaláp̄*, pass swiftly.

(b) Prof. Haupt combines Heb. *zabál*, to dwell (> *zēbál*) with Arab. *lādaba* < *lb* > *lābba*, *lābiṭa*, *labida* = *aqēma*; cf. also *zāliḥa* = *lāzima* (JAOS 43, 425, l. 3). Arab. *bālad*, dwelling, town, land (cf. Ass. *ālu*, town = Heb. *ōhl*, tent; AJSL 22, 199) < *bālada* = *labada*, dialectic doublet (JHUC 348, 48, Jan. 16; JAOS 43, 120†; WZKM 31, 284*). *Zabál* transposed S of *lb* with partial assimilation.

Dr. LUDLOW S. BULL, of Yale University: Some Recent Accessions in the Egyptian Department of the Metropolitan Museum.

Two obsidian *pesesh-kef* implements, one proto-dynastic, the other XII Dynasty. Relief from Old Kingdom tombs found reused in the pyramid of Amenemhet I of the XII Dynasty. A royal ceremonial sledge of the XII Dynasty. A stela of the late XVIII Dynasty bearing marks of the iconoclasm of Akhnaton and showing that the funerary cult of Sesostri I was flourishing more than 500 years after his death. An unusual colored sketch on an ostrakon of two bulls fighting. Two small bronze models of royal head-dresses. A XXVI Dynasty harp and drum. A group of Coptic and Greek papyri of about 700 A. D.

Dr. SAMUEL FRIGIN, of Pittsburgh, Pa.: The Sumerian Origin of the Name Gerizzim.

This paper explains the name of the mountain as the Sumerian *Garzu*, comparing it as well with the Hebrew "mountain Prāšim."

Mr. LEWIS C. MOON, of the Johns Hopkins University: (a) The Seven-branched Lampstand; (b) Assy. *iutēkuru* and Arab. *ḡāṭara*.

(a) The seven-branched golden lampstand in the Jewish Temple, which is depicted on the Arch of Titus, is, according to Haupt, not modeled after *Salvia triloba* (E. Rubenowitch) but after Babylonian sacred tree (JBL 32, 118). Rose of Sharon not *Tulipa praecox*; Miriam (AJSL 20, 152†; Goethe's *Faust* 7782) and Moriah (ZAT 29, 283) not connected with *mor*, myrrh. Lilies of the field (Matt. 6, 28) not *daisies* (BL 38, 24; JHUC 348, 48*).

(b) Assy. *uštēšera* (*zarrānu*) has no connection with *išaru*, straight, but means, according to Haupt, *I beat the way*; Ger. *ich schlug den Weg ein*, i. e. impressed it with footprints; cf. Arab. *ḡāṭara*, syn. *ḡaṣa'a*. Heb. *zahāb mēḡuṣṣār* = beaten gold; (i)ṣṣār 2 Chron. 32, 30 = *hōlik* Ez. 32, 14; *ōšir had-dārīm* (Is. 45, 2) = Assy. *u'aššar* (HW 248*) *dūrāni*, I shall destroy (lit. *beat down*; cf. Fr. *ébattre*) the walls (E *šūrājjā*). Assy. (u) *ašru*, humble = Heb. *nēke*

rûh (Fr. *abattu*) and Heb. *iaššér lākt* = *haçné' lākt*. 'Aḫappēka iējuššērū = let thine eyelashes be dejected, downcast (Ger. *niedergeschlagen*). *Mišôr* not level, plain, but *depression*, lowland.

Rev. FERRIS J. STEPHENS, of Yale University: Gleanings from the Capadocian Tablets in the Nies Collection, Yale University.

Dr. GEORGE A. KOHUT, of the Jewish Institute of Religion: 'Ben-Ammi and the Fairies,' a Jewish Apologue by John Godfrey Saxe.

Described as a 'Rabbinical Tale' by the well-known New England poet, John Godfrey Saxe, although it appears for the first time in a Hebrew ethical work of the seventeenth century, this striking and soulful story is traced to the Orient, with parallel versions in prose and rhyme in several languages. Attention is also called to the many Jewish traditions in his remarkable collection of Fairy Tales, Legends, and Apologues, the Hebrew originals of some of his folklore stories being unsuspected under their superscriptions.

Professor CHARLES C. TORREY, of Yale University: A Specimen of Old Aramaic Verse.

Professor JULIAN J. OBERMANN, of the Jewish Institute of Religion: Some Notes on the Song of Debora.

Suggestions of context interpretation of Judges 5: 15c, 17b, 22b, 26b.

Professor NATHANIEL REICH, of the Dropsie College: (a) The Development of the Egyptian Double Contracts; (b) The Egyptian Realty Contracts.

(a) An account of the historical development of the double contracts, discussing the question of foreign influence and the possible suggestion of state regulation.

(b) An examination of the contents of the realty contracts, followed by an interpretation of the forms used therein and an explanation of the composition and structure.

Professor ALBERT T. CLAY, of Yale University: The Babylonian Stylus.

Dr. FRANK R. BLAKE, of the Johns Hopkins University: (a) The Scientific Study of Vocabulary and Idiom; (b) The Collection of Material illustrating Indefinite Pronominal Ideas in the Philippine Islands.

(a) The acquisition of the essential facts of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of a language is a matter of comparatively little difficulty. The major part of the time spent in learning a language is devoted to reading for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of essential vocabulary and idiom. This reading method is unscientific and wasteful. With a more extensive and accurate subdivision of vocabulary and idioms into categories, it is possible to register and learn the

essential facts of this department of language study just as has already been done in those of phonology, morphology, and syntax.

(b) This material is being collected by a third questionnaire distributed thru the Islands as were the questionnaires on 'Coordinated Words' and 'The Interrogative Sentence.' It is a comparatively simple task to collect lists of nouns, verbs, or adjectives, but, in order to secure a set of constructions which render the ideas expressed in English by the so-called indefinite pronouns, it is necessary to have a selected group of sentences to be translated, which give the indefinite pronouns in all their various uses and meanings. The third questionnaire attempts to supply such a group of sentences.

Mr. PAUL POPENOE, of Coachella, Cal.: The Distribution of the Date Palm.

A compilation of all available data shows that there are about 90,000,000 date palms in the world, of which some 50,000,000 are in the countries bordering on the Persian Gulf (including India). Iraq is far in the lead, with approximately 30,000,000 palms. The whole peninsula of Arabia probably possesses not more than eight or nine million, of which half are in Oman and another fourth in Hasa. Detailed figures are given for all the important date-growing countries.

Professor LOUIS H. GRAY, of the University of Nebraska: A List of the Divine and Demoniac Epithets in the Avesta.

This paper is a catalogue of (a) the epithets in their alphabetical order with the separate beings to whom they are given and references to each occurrence; and (b) an alphabetical list of the beings with their epithets, those restricted to a single one being underlined.

Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, of New York City: Studies in Hindu Poetics.

The Society adjourned at 11.25 o'clock to meet in Philadelphia during Easter Week, 1926.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MIDDLE WEST BRANCH
OF THE
American Oriental Society
AT ITS NINTH ANNUAL MEETING AT
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS, 1925

In conjunction with the Chicago Society of Biblical Research, a number of whose members are also members of the American Oriental Society, the Branch met in the Administration Building of Garrett Biblical Institute Friday and Saturday, March 27 and 28.

The following members of our society were present:

Brown, G. W.	Laufer	Robinson, G. L.
Byrne	Levy, F. A.	Schaeffer
Clark	Luckenbill	Sellers
Eiselen	Lybyer	Smith, J. M. P.
Fuller	Olmstead	Sprengling
Fullerton	Price, I. M.	Wilson
Kelly		

There were in attendance also two candidates for membership:

Voigt, Edwin E.

Denyes, John R.

Professor Kemper Fullerton, president of the Branch, and President Frederick C. Eiselen, president of the Chicago Society of Biblical Research, and also a member of our society, alternated in presiding.

FIRST SESSION

The meeting was called to order at two o'clock Friday afternoon by the president, Professor Fullerton. President Eiselen of Garrett Biblical Institute delivered an address of welcome.

As a nominating committee there were chosen Professors

Clark, Lybyer, and Fuller. Professors Smith and Olmstead were appointed as a Committee on Resolutions. On motion of Professor Price, seconded by Professor Smith, it was decided to limit the papers, with the exception of the presidential address, to twenty minutes each and the discussion following to ten minutes. There followed the reading of papers.

Dean GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN, of the College of Missions, Indianapolis: The Possibility of Contact between Sumerian and the Languages of India.

The following statements come within the bounds of probability:

(1) Sanskrit may have been in contact with Sumerian or a closely related language long enough and closely enough to permit Sanskrit to borrow some words, largely of a technical nature, but there is no organic connection between the languages. (2) Sumerian and Munda may have had connection in the remote past. (3) There is little probability of organic connection between Sumerian and Dravidian, though there may have been sufficient contact to induce certain resemblances to Sumerian which are to be found in Dravidian.

Professor WALTER E. CLARK, of the University of Chicago: The Problem of the Origin of the Arabic Numerals. Remarks by Professor Sprengling.

Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago: Migrations of Tales from the Near to the Far East. Remarks by Professor Fullerton.

Different Chinese versions of the Story of the Pygmies and the Cranes reached China from the Hellenistic Orient over both the land and the sea route. The story of the Kynokephaloi and Amazons in China is identical with European mediaeval versions. The same story is pointed out in the diary of Columbus with reference to the Indians on his first voyage to America. Ctesias' story of the Long-ears appears in the Philippines and China. Broadly circulated are two tales of the Indian Ocean: Turtle Island (a turtle mistaken by navigators for an island) and the Capture of the Rhinoceros.

Professor MARTIN SPREGLING, of the University of Chicago: (a) Arabic Manuscripts, etc. at the University of Chicago; (b) The Tale of King Solomon and the Griffon. Remarks by Dr. Laufer, Dean Brown, and Professor Clark.

(a) A brief statement of 20 MSS, 10 Arabic and 10 Persian, at Chicago. Add thereto a leather scroll, with a business document on either side, and a Druze manuscript recently acquired. This constitutes the sum of the University of Chicago's treasures in Arabic and Persian MSS. We are hoping to draw other manuscripts now owned in or near Chicago to the University for exhibition and cataloguing. We hope further that this little nucleus may be increased

to a manuscript collection more worthy of a great University, which has maintained a fairly full Semitic Department, including an Arabist, since its foundation. In the meantime, the collection by photostatic reproduction of Kalila wa Dimna texts has given this University the greatest collection of Kalila wa Dimna texts to be found together anywhere in the world.

(b) One of the curious additions made in certain types, chiefly Persian, to the text of Kalila wa Dimna. To the Paris MSS mentioned by De Sacy in his brief note, *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. IX, 1 (1813), p. 461, note 2, we may now add two British Museum MSS for the addition of the tale of Solomon and the Griffon to the tale of the King and Bird, the second of the Mahābhārata tales (AJSL XL, No. 2 (Jan. 1924), p. 91 ff.). Besides the tale as found in Kalila wa Dimna, there are five versions in other languages.

Professor EUGENE H. BYRNE, of the University of Wisconsin: Genoese Commercial Expansion in the Levant in the 13th Century. Remarks by Professors Price, Voigt, Sprengling, and Dr. Laufer.

Professor ALBERT H. LYBYER, of the University of Illinois: The Present Conditions in Arabia with Special Reference to Ibn Saud and the Wahabis. Remarks by Professors Price, Schermerhorn, Sellers, Fullerton.

The Turks never conquered or ruled the interior of Arabia. Their control extended in a horseshoe shape from the Persian Gulf to Yemen. Early in the Great War, the British encouraged Hussein, sherif of Mecca, to revolt against Turkey and declare himself king. Though the settlement after the War disappointed him, he remained king of the Hejaz; his son Abdullah became emir of Transjordan and his son Feisal, king of Iraq. Syria, however, went to the French and Hussein never did sign a treaty with England. Ibn Saud as leader of the Wahabis has gained steadily in strength during the last 20 years. Recently he has expelled King Hussein from the Hejaz and has driven his son Ali to a slender footing at Jeddah. Ibn Saud has issued a call for a congress to meet at Mecca and decide upon the future of the Hejaz. There was talk of a joint attack with Turkey upon Iraq. Such a movement would put the British into the difficult position of having to decide whether to abandon their protégés or to engage in an expensive war in which victory would probably have no great value.

At six o'clock the members of the societies were guests of Northwestern University at a dinner in the University Club of Evanston. Professor J. A. Scott, representing his brother, President W. D. Scott, greeted the societies on behalf of the University.

SECOND SESSION

At 7.30, the meeting was called to order with President Eiselen in the chair, in the Garrett chapel. There followed two papers.

Professor GEORGE L. ROBINSON, of McCormick Theological Seminary: Moffatt's Translation of the Old Testament. Remarks by Professors Smith and Eiselen.

Moffatt's translation is an independent rendering plus an interpretation, hastily prepared, yet not without superior merit. By seeking a new vocabulary to express old truth great leakage has resulted; e. g., "compact" for "covenant." It expresses the common denominator, so to speak, of modern critical views, and will prove a valuable precursor of any new revision. The author is strongest in those portions which tell of war and drunkenness. He has preserved the oriental atmosphere to an unusual degree. He often uses Arabic words, such as "wady," when a possible English expression might have been employed. He shows a strong leaning toward the text of the Septuagint, which is a growing tendency among Protestants.

Professor KEMPER FULLERTON, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology: Elements in the Problem of Isaiah's Attitude in 701. [Presidential address.]

The main elements in the problem of Isaiah's attitude in 701 were found to be the following: (1) The date of Hezekiah's accession, fixed for 720, and important as marking the probable change of policy from the pro-Assyrian of Ahaz to the anti-Assyrian of Hezekiah. (2) The situation in Egypt, the development of the Ethiopian control over Egypt, an increasing source of confidence for anti-Assyrian agitation in South Syria. (3) Isaiah's probable opposition to the anti-Assyrian party at the revolt of Gaza in 720 and his certain opposition at the revolt of Ashdod in 713/711. (4) The date of cc. 28-31 fixed for the Sennacherib period. (5) The criticism of these prophecies shows revision in the interest of eschatological hope. The group originally announced only doom and thus Isaiah's attitude in these chapters toward the anti-Assyrian party in the Sennacherib period was the same as in 720 and 713/711. (6) The reforms of Hezekiah are to be dated after 701, and hence cannot account for any change in Isaiah's attitude during the campaign. Accordingly, when Hezekiah revolted in 701, Isaiah threatened doom and did not promise deliverance, in agreement with his attitude throughout Hezekiah's reign. (7) On the basis of the above conclusions the Isaiah narratives are to be examined. They were found to be historically untrustworthy and the prophecies in them which agree with the narratives are therefore compromised by their unreliability. The group, cc. 28-31, in their original form, is to be regarded as determining Isaiah's attitude in 701.

At nine o'clock the meeting adjourned to the home of President Eiselen for an informal social hour. Professor Roy C. Flickinger, who had recently returned from Greece and Asia Minor, gave a talk on conditions in the Near East.

THIRD SESSION

Saturday morning at ten o'clock, the meeting was called to order by the president, Professor Fullerton, and the reading of papers was begun.

Professor A. T. OLMSTEAD, of the University of Illinois: *Isaiah and the Historians*. Remarks by Professors Fullerton and Eiselen.

Of all the "History of Assyria," the sections dealing with the biblical history have found the least acceptance. The case of Isaiah is therefore taken as the most typical example of disagreement between the historian and the biblical critic. In general, the historian agrees with the critic in his use of criteria for date, authorship, and historical value, but with less emphasis on the purely linguistic, still less on vague "ideas" of the author, but lays much stress on the historical connections and above all on definite references to historical events.

Professor E. D. SOPER, of Northwestern University: *Religion and Politics in Japan*. Remarks by Professors Stearns and Fullerton.

Much water has gone under the bridge since I gave an address on a similar topic five years ago. A somewhat strained and serious situation confronts us now. There are those who think we are surely drifting toward war with Japan, and there are others who feel that this catastrophe can be averted, but only on the basis of sympathy and mutual understanding. We cannot expect the man on the street to enter deeply into questions which require time and patience to understand, but there is a place for the scholar and the scholarly-minded man of business or in politics to lay a deep foundation in his own mind for really entering into the mind of these people with whom increasingly we must have to do.

Professor WALLACE N. STEARNS, of Illinois Women's College: *A Possible Reason Why Paul did not Visit Alexandria*.

Bell's "Jews and Christians in Alexandria" contains a papyrus fragment dated the second year of Tiberius (i. e. posted in Alexandria; issued from Rome earlier). Originally in Latin, the document was translated into Greek for public reading. Interesting are the words: "Not to introduce or invite Jews who sail down to Alexandria from Syria or Egypt, . . . otherwise, I will by all means take vengeance on them as fomenting a general plague for the whole world." Rome

made scant distinction between Jew and Christian. Many details known to Paul would enter into his decisions. In the present case, as later at Rome, an imperial decree forbade. Under Nero (Eus., H. E., II, xvi) Christianity probably entered Egypt against similar restraint.

Professor C. A. BECKWITH, of Chicago Theological Seminary: Later Jewish and Early Christian Ideas of God. Remarks by Professors Price, Fullerton, Rall, and Case.

Three aspects of the Jewish idea were presented. (1) The pure ethical monotheism of the prophets. (2) Manifestations of the divine cherished by priests and the common people associated with sacred places, trees, and waters. (3) Development of intermediaries between God as transcendent and the world of men—angels good and evil, The *Torah*, Wisdom, the Spirit, and *Memra* or the Word of God. The early Christian idea of God was described in three stages: (1) That of Jesus and the Synoptics, reproducing with slight variations the conception of the prophets. (2) An amalgamation of Hebrew with Greek elements beginning with St. Paul and advanced by the epistles to the Hebrews and the Gospel of John. (3) The further development in Clement and Origen: God is a pure Being, incomprehensible, indefinable, ineffable, whose will may be known only by revelation.

Professor Clark for the Nominating Committee reported its recommendation of the following officers for the coming year:

President: Professor J. M. Powis Smith, University of Chicago.

Vice-President: Dr. Berthold Laufer, Field Museum of Natural History.

Secretary and Treasurer: Professor Ovid R. Sellers, McCormick Theological Seminary.

Other members of the Executive Committee: Professors Kemper Fullerton, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, and E. H. Byrne, University of Wisconsin.

It was voted unanimously to accept the report of the Committee and to declare these officers elected.

It was voted unanimously to record the thanks and appreciation of the Branch for the faithful and efficient work of Professor T. George Allen as Secretary and Treasurer during the past four years.

Professor Smith presented the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Whereas, the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society has been the guest of Northwestern University and Garrett Biblical Institute,

who have acted as our hosts during the sessions held on March 27th and 28th, 1925, and

Whereas, in the pursuance of their hospitable impulse, they have placed at our disposal all that we could desire, Garrett Biblical Institute giving the use of its dormitory accommodations and of its beautiful chapel and class-rooms and serving us a generous luncheon, while Northwestern University made us its dinner guests,

Therefore be it resolved: That the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society place on record its hearty appreciation of the generosity and courtesy of President Eiselen, the Trustees and the Faculty of Garrett Biblical Institute, and President Scott, the Trustees and the Faculty of Northwestern University, and instruct its Secretary to transmit a copy of this resolution to the Presidents of Northwestern University and Garrett Biblical Institute respectively.

An invitation to hold the next annual meeting at McCormick Theological Seminary was accepted provisionally, with the date to be determined by the Executive Committee.

The meeting adjourned to the North Shore Hotel, where Garrett Biblical Institute was host at lunch. President Scott of Northwestern University made an informal speech of welcome, to which Professor Fullerton replied.

FOURTH SESSION

At two o'clock the meeting was called to order by President Eiselen and the reading of papers resumed.

Professor ERNEST W. BURCH, of Garrett Biblical Institute: The Kingdom in Matthew.

There appear excellent reasons to suppose that in the mind of the First Evangelist the kingdom or 'reign' of God was "at hand" in a real sense for the unshepherded Israelites who aroused the pity of Jesus. That the Evangelist thought of the new order as mundane is shown by such terms as "salt of the earth" and "light of the world." The so-called eschatological element in the gospel seems to represent the new order at a future, perhaps climactic stage of development, yet the same kingdom. Matthew stresses, then, the imminence of the new order, its gradual development and its consummation. It is all the same movement but developing like a living thing.

Professor D. D. LUCKENBILL, of the University of Chicago: Azariah of Judah. Remarks by Professors Smith, Robinson, Fullerton, Eiselen.

Mr. MARION HILLER DUNSMORE, of the University of Chicago: The

Wisdom of Amenemopet and the Book of Proverbs. Remarks by Mr. Wilson, Professors Sellers, Robinson, Fullerton, Luckenbill, Smith, Case.

A British Museum hieratic papyrus from the XXI or XXII Dynasty, published in 1923, and containing *The Admonitions of Amenemopet*, shows some striking parallels to the third section of the Biblical book of Proverbs. Nearly all of the proverbs of 22:17—23:10 are found in the Egyptian document. Although the sentence order varies, the verbal agreement is so close that the agreement can scarcely be accidental. The evidence seems clear that a portion of this book was taken over and adapted by the Hebrews. This papyrus, then, is the nearest approach to an original document entering into the writing of the Old Testament which has yet been discovered. It throws some light on the problem of textual criticism, and also raises the question, How much more Hebrew literature may be traced to an Egyptian source?

Professor OVID R. SELLERS, of McCormick Theological Seminary: Hosea's Motives.

Hosea's conscious motive was the desire to bring Israel to the exclusive worship of JHVH and to purge the JHVH worship itself of degrading elements. A good part of his inspiration, however, came through his unconscious motives, among which we can discern love, desire for recognition, martyrdom, sadism, exhibitionism, and hunger.

The following papers were presented by title:

Professor MOSES BUTTENWIESER, of Hebrew Union College: The Text-Transmission of Job.

Professor IRA M. PRICE, of the University of Chicago: Homonyms in Sumerian Texts.

A homonym designates specific syllables whose ideographic or syllabic forms are different, but which are pronounced alike and are employed to denote words with one and the same meaning. Variations of this definition are found in current works on cuneiform characteristics, especially illustrated by those cases where bisyllabic ideograms are broken up in their writing and pronunciation into their phonetic values. Some monosyllabic roots are expanded into two syllables, in some cases for variety's sake, in other cases to harmonize with accompanying words and syllables. Homonyms are valuable for determining the proper reading of the sign in question, and to show that in many cases, the essential matter in Sumerian was the pronunciation rather than the exact form of the sign. Examples of the above are abundant.

LIST OF MEMBERS

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

† designates members deceased during the past year.

HONORARY MEMBERS

- Prof. THEODOR NÖLDEKE, Ettlingerstr. 53, Karlsruhe, Germany. 1878.
†Sir RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, K.C.I.E., Deccan College, Poona, India. 1887.
Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormserstr. 12,W.) 1887.
Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure 24.) 1893.
Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1893.
Prof. RICHARD v. GARBE, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Waldhäuserstr. 14.) 1902.
Prof. ADOLF ERMAN, University of Berlin, Germany. (Peter Lennéstr. 36, Berlin-Dahlem.) 1903.
Prof. KARL F. GELDNER, University of Marburg, Germany. 1905.
Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1899; Honorary, 1905.
Prof. EDUARD MEYER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Mommsenstr. 7, Gross-Lichterfelde-West.) 1908.
EMILE SENART, Membre de l'Institut de France, 18 Rue François Ier, Paris, France. 1908.
Prof. HERMANN JACOBI, University of Bonn, Germany. (Niebuhrstrasse 59.) 1909.
Prof. C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE, University of Leiden, Netherlands. (Rapenberg 61.) 1914.
Prof. SYLVAIN LÉVI, Collège de France, Paris, France. (9 Rue Guy-de-la-Brosse, Paris, Ve.) 1917.
Prof. ARTHUR ANTHONY MACDONELL, University of Oxford, England. 1918.
FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN, Membre de l'Institut de France, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France. 1918.
Sir ARTHUR EVANS, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England. 1919.
Prof. V. SCHEIL, Membre de l'Institut de France, 4bis Rue du Cherche-Midi, Paris, France. 1920.
Dr. F. W. THOMAS, The Library, India Office, London S.W.1, England. 1920.
Rév. Père M.-J. LAGRANGE, Ecole archéologique française de Palestine, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1921.
DON LEONE CAETANI, DUCA di SERMONETA, Villino Caetani, 13 Via Giacomo Medici, Rome, Italy. 1922.

- Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH, Haimhauserstr. 19, München, Germany. Corporate Member, 1903; Honorary, 1922.
- Prof. MORIZ WINTERNITZ, German University of Prague, Czechoslovakia. (Prague II, Opatovická 8.) 1923.
- Prof. HEINRICH ZIMMERN, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Ritterstr. 16/22.) 1923.
- Prof. PAUL PELLLOT, Collège de France, Paris, France. (38 Rue de Varenne, Paris, VIIe.) 1924. [Total: 24]

HONORARY ASSOCIATES

- Field Marshal Viscount ALLENBY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Naval and Military Club, London, England. 1922.
- Hon. CHARLES R. CRANE, 655 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. OTIS A. GLAZEBROOK, American Consul, Nice, France. 1921.
- Pres. FRANK J. GOODNOW, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1921.
- Hon. CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, New York, N. Y. 1922.
- President Emeritus HARRY PRATT JUDSON, 5756 Kimbark Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1922.
- Hon. HENRY MORGENTHAU, 417 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Hon. OSCAR S. STRAUS, 5 West 76th St., New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Hon. SAO-KE ALFRED SZE, Chinese Minister to the United States, Chinese Legation, Washington, D. C. 1922.
- Hon. WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, Chief Justice, The Supreme Court of the United States, Washington, D. C. 1921.
- Major General LEONARD WOOD, Governor-General of the Philippine Islands, Manila, P. I. 1922. [Total: 11]

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Names marked with * are those of life members.

- MARCUS AARON, 402 Winebiddle Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1900.
- Pres. CYRUS ADLER (Dropsie College), 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
- Dr. N. ADRIANI, Posso, Central Celebes, Dutch East Indies. 1922.
- Prof. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR (Univ. of Madras), Sri Venkatesa Vilas, Nadu St., Mylapore, Madras, India. 1921.
- Dr. WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT, Director, American School of Oriental Research, P. O. Box 333, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1915.
- Prof. HERBERT C. ALLEMAN, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa. 1921.
- Prof. T. GEORGE ALLEN (Univ. of Chicago), 5743 Maryland Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Prof. OSWALD T. ALLIS, 26 Alexander Hall, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1916.

- NAZMIE H. ANABTAWY, 1978 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1925.
 Prof. SHIGERU ARAKI, The Peeress' School, Aoyama, Tokyo, Japan. 1915.
 Prof. J. C. ARCHER (Yale Univ.), Box 1848, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1916.
 Prof. K. ASAKAWA, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. 1904.
 L. A. AULT, P. O. Drawer 880, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
 Dean WILLIAM FREDERIC BADÈ (Pacific School of Religion), 2616 College Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 1920.
 MOSES BAILEY, A.M., 6 Norfolk Terrace, Wellesley, Mass. 1922.
 Mrs. ROBERT A. BAILEY, JR., P. O. Box 654, Delray, Fla. 1922.
 CHARLES CHANEY BAKER, care of Dominguez Land Corporation, Torrance, Calif. 1916.
 Hon. SIMON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 *Dr. HUBERT BANNING, 17 East 128th St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
 Mrs. EARL H. BARBER, 42 Haven St., Reading, Mass. 1925.
 *PHILIP LEMONT BARBOUR, care of Mercantile Trust Co., San Francisco, Calif. 1917.
 Rabbi HENRY BARNSTON, Ph.D., 3515 Main St., Houston, Texas. 1921.
 Prof. LEROY CARB BARRET, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1903.
 Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 3725 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
 Mrs. FRANCES CROSBY BARTTER, Box 655, Manila, P. I. 1921.
 Mrs. DANIEL M. BATES, 51 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1912.
 Prof. LORING W. BATTEN (General Theol. Seminary), 6 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1894.
 Prof. HARLAN P. BEACH, 57 Madison Ave., Madison, N. J. 1898.
 Miss ETHEL BEERS, 3414 South Paulina St., Chicago, Ill. 1915.
 Rev. WILLIAM Y. BELL, Ph.D., 218 West 130th St., New York, N. Y. 1923.
 *Prof. SHRIPAD K. BELVALKAR (Deccan College), Bilvakunja, Bhamburda, Poona, India. 1914.
 Prof. HAROLD H. BENDER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1906.
 Prof. C. THEODORE BENZE, D.D. (Mt. Airy Theol. Seminary), 7304 Boyer St., Mt. Airy, Pa. 1916.
 OSCAR BERMAN, Third, Plum and McFarland Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
 PIERRE A. BERNARD, Rossiter House, Braeburn Club, Nyack, N. Y. 1914.
 ISAAC W. BERNHEIM, Inter-Southern Building, Louisville, Ky. 1920.
 Prof. GEORGE R. BERRY, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1907.
 Prof. JULIUS A. BEWER, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.
 Prof. D. R. BHANDARKAR (Univ. of Calcutta), 35 Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta, India. 1921.
 Prof. A. E. BIGELOW, Central Philippine School, Iloilo, P. I. 1922.
 WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, M.D., 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
 CARL W. BISHOP, American Legation, Peking, China. 1917.
 Dr. FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 1600 Park Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1900.
 Rev. Dr. JOSHUA BLOCH, 346 East 173d St., New York, N. Y. 1921.

- Prof. CARL AUGUST BLOMGREN (Augustana College and Theol. Seminary), 825 35th St., Rock Island, Ill. 1900.
- Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.
- Prof. PAUL F. BLOOMHARDT, Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio. 1916.
- EMANUEL BOASBERG, 1296 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 1921.
- GEORGE BOBRINSKOY, 7023 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1925.
- Rev. AUGUST M. BOLDUC, S.T.L., The Marist College, Brookland, Washington, D. C. 1921.
- Prof. GEORGE M. BOLLING (Ohio State Univ.), 777 Franklin Ave., Columbus, Ohio. 1896.
- Prof. CAMPBELL BONNER, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1920.
- Dean EDWARD I. BOSWORTH (Oberlin Graduate School of Theology), 78 South Professor St., Oberlin, Ohio. 1920.
- Rev. JOHN WICK BOWMAN, M.A., American Presbyterian Mission, Saharanpur, U. P., India. 1923.
- Dr. RENWARD BRANDSTETTER, Vonmattstrasse 52, Lucerne, Switzerland. 1923 (1908).
- AARON BRAV, M.D., 917 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1924.
- Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
- Miss EMILIE GRACE BRIGGS, 521 Madison Ave., Lakewood, N. J. 1920.
- Rev. GEORGE WESTON BRIGGS, M.Sc., 823 Morton Road, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1923.
- Prof. C. A. BRODIE BROCKWELL, McGill University, Montreal, P.Q., Canada. 1920 (1906).
- Rev. CHARLES D. BROKENSHIRE, Lock Box 56, Alma, Mich. 1917.
- Mrs. BEATRICE ALLARD BROOKS, Ph.D. (Wellesley College), 9 State St., Wellesley, Mass. 1919.
- MILTON BROOKS, 3 Clive Row, Calcutta, India. 1918.
- DAVID A. BROWN, 60 Boston Boulevard, Detroit, Mich. 1921.
- Dean GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN, College of Missions, Indianapolis, Ind. 1909.
- LEO M. BROWN, P. O. Box 953, Mobile, Ala. 1920.
- Dr. W. NORMAN BROWN, 2115 St. Paul St., Baltimore, Md. 1916.
- Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- Dr. LUDLOW S. BULL, Assistant Curator, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1917.
- ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, State Mutual Building, Worcester, Mass. 1910.
- CHARLES DANA BURRAGE, 85 Ames Building, Boston, Mass. 1909.
- Prof. MILLAR BURROWS (Brown Univ.), 262 Fifth St., Providence, R. I. 1925.
- Prof. ROMAIN BUTIN, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Prof. MOSES BUTTENWIESER (Hebrew Union College), 252 Loraine Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.
- Prof. EUGENE H. BYRNE (Univ. of Wisconsin), 240 Lake Lawn Place, Madison, Wis. 1917.

- Prof. HENRY J. CADBURY (Harvard Theol. Seminary), 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge, Mass. 1914.
- ALFRED M. CAMPBELL, 6146 Torresdale Ave., Wissiminsing, Philadelphia, Pa. 1922.
- Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Ph.D., 260 West 231st St., New York, N. Y. 1896.
- Rev. ISAAC CANADAY, M.A., Ranchi, Bihar, India. 1920.
- Prof. ALBERT J. CARNOY (Univ. of Louvain), Sparrenhof, Corbeek-Loo, Belgium. 1916.
- Prof. JOHN F. B. CARRUTHERS. 1923.
- †Prof. THOMAS F. CARTER, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1923.
- Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
- HENRY HARMON CHAMBERLIN, 22 May St., Worcester, Mass. 1921.
- Rev. JOHN S. CHANDLER, D.D., Kodaikanal, South India. 1899.
- Dr. WILLIAM J. CHAPMAN (Hartford Theol. Seminary), 155 Broad St., Hartford, Conn. 1922.
- Mrs. HAROLD S. CHARTER, 67 Division St., Gloversville, N. Y. 1924.
- KSHETRESACHANDRA CHATTOPADHYAYA, M.A., Sanskrit Department, The University, Allahabad, U. P., India. 1925.
- Dr. F. D. CHESTER, The Bristol, Boston, Mass. 1891.
- Prof. EDWARD CHIERA, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1915.
- EMERSON B. CHRISTIE (Department of State), 3220 McKinley St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1921.
- Prof. WALTER E. CLARK, Box 222, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
- †Prof. ALBERT T. CLAY (Yale Univ.), 401 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1907.
- Miss LUCY CLEVELAND, P. O. Box 117, Times Square Station, New York, N. Y. 1923.
- *ALEXANDER SMITH COCHRAN, 527 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1908.
- ALFRED M. COHEN, 9 West 4th St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Rabbi HENRY COHEN, D.D., 1920 Broadway, Galveston, Texas. 1920.
- Rabbi SAMUEL S. COHON, care of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.
- Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 1027 North Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1887.
- Dr. MAUDE GAEBLER (Mrs. H. M.) COOK, Box 175, Belton, Texas. 1915.
- Rev. GEORGE S. COOKE, Houlton, Maine. 1917.
- Dr. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1917.
- *Prof. DOUGLAS HILARY CORLEY (Vanderbilt Univ.), 2 Margaret Apts., Nashville, Tenn. 1922.
- Rev. RALPH D. CORNUELLE, American Presbyterian Mission, Fatehgarh, U. P., India. 1922.
- Dr. WILLIAM COWEN, 35 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Rev. WILLIAM MERRIAM CRANE, Ph.D., Richmond, Mass. 1902.
- Prof. THOMAS F. CUMMINGS, The Biblical Seminary in New York, 541 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1923.

- Prof. GEORGE H. DANTON, Tsing Hua College, Peking, China. 1921.
- Prof. ISRAEL DAVIDSON (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 92 Morningside Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- Prof. FRANK LEIGHTON DAY, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. 1920.
- Dean IRWIN HOCH DELONG (Theol. Seminary of the Reformed Church), 523 West James St., Lancaster, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. ROBERT E. DENGLEB (Pennsylvania State College), 126 East Nittany Ave., State College, Pa. 1920.
- Prof. JOHN R. DENYES, D.D., Lawrence College, Appleton, Wis. 1925.
- NARIMAN M. DHALLA, M.A., 15 Royal Artillery Lines, Karachi, India. 1922.
- Mrs. FRANCIS W. DICKINS, 2015 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C. 1911.
- LEON DOMINIAN, care of American Consulate-General, Rome, Italy. 1916.
- Rev. A. T. DORF, 1635 North Washtenaw Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1916.
- Prof. RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. 1918.
- Prof. FREDERIC C. DUNCALF, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1919.
- Prof. GEORGE S. DUNCAN (American Univ., Y. M. C. A. School of Religion), 2900 Seventh St., N. E., Washington, D. C. 1917.
- Prof. CHARLES DUROISELLE, M.A. (Rangoon Univ.), "C" Road, Mandalay, Burma. 1922.
- Prof. FRANKLIN EDGERTON (University of Pennsylvania), 107 Bryn Mawr Ave., Lansdowne, Pa. 1910.
- Prof. WILLIAM F. EDGERTON, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1917.
- Dean GRANVILLE D. EDWARDS (Missouri Bible College), 811 College Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1917.
- Dr. ISRAEL EFROS (Baltimore Hebrew College), 3516 Holmes Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1918.
- Pres. FREDERICK C. EISELEN, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1901.
- Rabbi ISRAEL ELFENBEIN, D.H.L., 1018 East 163d St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- ABRAHAM I. ELKUS, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- ALBERT W. ELLIS, 40 Central St., Boston, Mass. 1917.
- Rev. Dr. BARNETT A. ELZAS, 42 West 72d St., New York, N. Y. 1923.
- Prof. AARON EMBEE, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1902.
- Rabbi H. G. ENKLOW, D.D., Temple Emanu-El, 521 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. HENRY LANE ENO, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1916.
- Prof. MORTON SCOTT ENSLIN (Crozer Theol. Seminary), 4 Seminary Ave., Chester, Pa. 1925.
- Rabbi HARRY W. ETTELSON, Ph.D., 1505 Diamond St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1918.
- Pres. MILTON G. EVANS, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. 1921.
- BENJAMIN FAIN, 1269 President St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1921.

- WALLACE CRANSTON FAIRWEATHER, 62 Saint Vincent St., Glasgow, Scotland. 1922.
- Dr. SAMUEL FEIGIN, 100 North Fairmount St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1924.
- Rabbi ABRAHAM J. FELDMAN, Temple Keneseth Israel, Broad St. above Columbia Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- Dr. JOHN C. FERGUSON, Peking, China. 1900.
- Rabbi MORRIS M. FEUERLICHT, 3034 Washington Boulevard, Indianapolis, Ind. 1922.
- SOL BARUCH FINESINGER, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1922.
- Rabbi JOSEPH L. FINK, 599 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 1920.
- Dr. LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, Jewish Theological Seminary, 531 West 123d St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. CLARENCE S. FISHER, American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1914 (1905).
- *MAYNARD DAUCHY FOLLIN, P. O. Box 118, Detroit, Mich. 1922.
- Dean HUGHELL E. W. FOSBROKE, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1917.
- Rabbi SOLOMON FOSTER, 90 Treacy Ave., Newark, N. J. 1921.
- Rabbi GRESHAM GEORGE FOX, Ph.D., 7423 Kingston St., Chicago, Ill. 1924.
- Prof. JAMES EVERETT FRAME, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
- W. B. FRANKENSTEIN, 110 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- Rabbi LEO M. FRANKLIN, M.A., 26 Edison Ave., Detroit, Mich. 1920.
- Rabbi SOLOMON B. FREEHOF, D.D., Hotel Aragon, 54th St. and Cornell Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1918.
- MAURICE J. FREEBERG, 701 First National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Rabbi SIGMUND FREY, Feldgasse 10, Vienna (VIII), Austria. 1920.
- HARRY FRIEDENWALD, M.D., 1029 Madison Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1921.
- Prof. LESLIE ELMER FULLER, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1916.
- Prof. KEMPER FULLERTON, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio. 1916.
- *Prof. A. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, Elphinstone College, Bombay, India. 1921.
- ALEXANDER B. GALT, 2219 California St., Washington, D. C. 1917.
- Prof. FRANK GAVIN, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1917.
- Dr. HENRY SNYDER GEHMAN, 5720 North 6th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- EUGENE A. GELLOT, 290 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1911.
- Rev. PHARES B. GIBBLE, 4 North College St., Palmyra, Pa. 1921.
- Rabbi S. H. GOLDENSON, Ph.D., 4905 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
- Rabbi SOLOMON GOLDMAN, 1117 East 105th St., Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.
- Prof. ALEXANDER R. GORDON, Presbyterian College, Montreal, P. Q., Canada. 1912.
- Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1886.
- KINGDON GOULD, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.

- HARI G. GOVIL, India Society of America, 154 Nassau St., New York, N. Y. 1925.
- Prof. HERBERT HENRY GOWEN, D.D. (Univ. of Washington), 5005 22d Ave., N. E., Seattle, Wash. 1920.
- Prof. WILLIAM CREIGHTON GRAHAM (Wesleyan Theol. College), 756 University St., Montreal, P. Q., Canada. 1921.
- Prof. ELIHU GRANT, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1907.
- BENJ. F. GRAVELY, P. O. Box 209, Martinsville, Va. 1925.
- Prof. LOUIS H. GRAY, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1897.
- Mrs. LOUIS H. GRAY, care of University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1907.
- Prof. EVAERTS B. GREENE, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- M. E. GREENEBAUM, 4504 Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1920.
- Prof. ETTALENE M. GRICE, Babylonian Collection, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1915.
- Miss LUCIA C. G. GRIEVE, 211 Wardwell Ave., Westerleigh, Staten Island, N. Y. 1894.
- Rev. Dr. HERVEY D. GRISWOLD, Ewing Hall, Lahore, Panjab, India. 1920.
- Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN, 3329 East Ocean Boulevard, Long Beach, Calif. 1890.
- Prof. LÉON GREY (Université libre d'Angers), 10 Rue La Fontaine, Angers, M.-et-L., France. 1921.
- Babu SHIVA PRASAD GUPTA, Seva Upavana, Hindu University, Benares, India. 1921.
- Pres. WILLIAM W. GUTH, Ph.D., Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. 1920.
- *Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, 323 West 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
- Prof. LUISE HAESSLER, 100 Morningside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1909.
- Dr. GEORGE ELLERY HALE, Director, Mt. Wilson Observatory, Pasadena, Calif. 1920.
- V. T. HAMMER, Branford, Conn. 1925.
- Prof. MAX S. HANDMAN, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1919.
- Dr. E. S. CRAIGHILL HANDY, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii. 1924.
- *EDWARD ROCHIE HARDY, JR., A.M., 419 West 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1924.
- HENRY H. HART, 328 Post St., San Francisco, Calif. 1925.
- JOEL HATHEWAY, 15 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1923.
- Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 215 Longwood Road, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md. 1883.
- Prof. A. EUSTACE HAYDON, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1922.
- WYNDHAM HAYWARD, Box 367, Wickford, R. I. 1925.
- Rabbi JAMES G. HELLER, 3634 Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Prof. MAXIMILIAN HELLER (Tulane Univ.), 1658 Joseph St., New Orleans, La. 1920.
- PHILIP S. HENRY, Zealandia, Asheville, N. C. 1914.
- EDWIN B. HEWES, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Prof. RALPH K. HICKOK, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y. 1924.
- Prof. WILLIAM BANCROFT HILL, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1921.

- Prof. WILLIAM J. HINKE (Auburn Theol. Seminary), 156 North St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.
- Prof. PHILIP K. HITT, care of Near East Colleges, 18 East 41st St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
- Rev. Dr. CHARLES T. HOCK (Bloomfield Theol. Seminary), 222 Liberty St., Bloomfield, N. J. 1921 (1903).
- Prof. LEWIS HODOUS (Hartford Seminary Foundation), 9 Sumner St., Hartford, Conn. 1919.
- G. F. HOFF, 403 Union Building, San Diego, Calif. 1920.
- *Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
- Prof. JACOB HOSCHANDER (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 218 West 112th St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Prof. HERBERT PIERREPONT HOUGHTON, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. 1925.
- HENRY R. HOWLAND, Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, Buffalo, N. Y. 1907.
- Pres. EDWARD H. HUME, Yale-in-China, Changsha, Hunan, China. 1909.
- Prof. ROBERT ERNEST HUME (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 West 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
- *Dr. ARCHER M. HUNTINGTON, 15 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Prof. ISAAC HUSIK, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. MARY INDA HUSSEY, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1901.
- Rev. Dr. MOSES HYAMSON (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 1335 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- *JAMES HAZEN HYDE, 67 Boulevard Lannes, Paris, France. 1909.
- Prof. WALTER WOODBURN HYDE, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 Twelfth St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.
- HARALD INGHOULT, Assistant Curator, Glyptothek, Copenhagen, Denmark. 1921.
- J. H. INGRAM, M.D., American Board Mission, Peking, China. 1924.
- Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.
- Mrs. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, care of Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Prof. FREDERICK J. FOAKES JACKSON, D.D. (Union Theol. Seminary), Dana Place, Englewood, N. J. 1920.
- Mrs. MORRIS JASTROW, JR., 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1922.
- Prof. ARTHUR JEFFREY, American University, Cairo, Egypt. 1923.
- Dr. GEORGE JESHURUN, 1321 55th St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1925.
- Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- FRANK EDWARD JOHNSON, 31 General Lee St., Marianao, Cuba. 1916.
- FRANKLIN PLOTINOS JOHNSON, 128 Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. 1921.
- *Dr. HELEN M. JOHNSON, Osceola, Mo. 1921.

- NELSON TRUSLER JOHNSON, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 1921.
 CHARLES JOHNSTON, 80 Washington Square, New York, N. Y. 1921.
 REGINALD F. JOHNSTON, British Legation, Peking, China. 1919.
 Rev. FRANKLIN JOINER, St. Clement's Church, Philadelphia, Pa. 1925.
 FLOREN HOWARD JONES, Saunders Cottage, N. Broadway, Upper Nyack,
 N. Y. 1918.
 Rev. CONRAD W. JORDAN, 101 Sefton Ave., Hamilton, Md. 1925.
 Rabbi LEO JUNG, Ph.D., 131 West 86th St., New York, N. Y. 1924.
 Dean MAXIMO M. KALAW, University of the Philippines, Manila, P. I.
 1922.
 ANDREW D. KALMYKOW, City Hospital, Welfare Island, New York, N. Y.
 1924.
 Rabbi JACOB H. KAPLAN, Ph.D., 3326 Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 1918.
 Rabbi C. E. HILLEL KAUFMAN, D.H.L., 1220 Elizabeth St., Denver, Colo.
 1921.
 Prof. ELMER LOUIS KATSER (George Washington Univ.), 2100 G St., N. W.,
 Washington, D. C. 1921.
 Rev. Dr. CLARENCE E. KEISER, Lyon Station, Pa. 1913.
 Prof. MAX L. KELLNER, 3 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
 Prof. FREDERICK T. KELLY (Univ. of Wisconsin), 2019 Monroe St., Madison,
 Wis. 1917.
 Pres. JAMES A. KELSO, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 1915.
 Rev. JAMES L. KELSO, Xenia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Mo. 1921.
 Prof. JOHN M. KELSO, 406 North Bradford St., Dover, Del. 1923.
 Prof. ELIZA H. KENDRICK, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1896.
 †Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1890.
 Prof. ROLAND G. KENT, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
 1910.
 Prof. ANDREW KEOGH (Yale Univ.), 49 Huntington St., New Haven, Conn.
 1925.
 LEEDS C. KERR, Easton, Md. 1916.
 Prof. ANIS E. KHURI, American University, Beirut, Syria. 1921.
 Mrs. HAROLD D. KINDT, Quakertown, Pa. 1924.
 Prof. GEORGE L. KITTEDGE (Harvard Univ.), 8 Hilliard St., Cambridge,
 Mass. 1899.
 EUGENE KLEIN, 44 North 50th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
 TAW SEIN KO, C.I.E., Peking Lodge, West Moat Road, Mandalay, Burma.
 1922.
 Rabbi SAMUEL KOCH, M.A., 916 Twentieth Ave., Seattle, Wash. 1921.
 Dr. KAUFMANN KOHLER, 2 West 88th St., New York, N. Y. 1917.
 Dr. GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT, 220 West 87th St., New York, N. Y. 1924
 (1894).
 Rev. CARL H. KRAELING (Mt. Airy Theol. Seminary), 8000 Germantown
 Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1925.

- Rev. EMIL G. H. KRAELING, Ph.D. (Union Theol. Seminary), 132 Henry St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.
- Rabbi NATHAN KRASS, D.D., Temple Emanu-El, 521 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1924.
- Pres. MELVIN G. KYLE, Xenia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Mo. 1909.
- Miss M. ANTONIA LAMB, 212 South 46th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
- LEONARD D. LANGLEY, St. George Society, 19 Moore St., New York, N. Y. 1924.
- *Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
- AMBROSE LANSING, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. KENNETH S. LATOURETTE, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1917.
- Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.
- Prof. JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1918.
- SIMON LAZARUS, High and Town Sts., Columbus, Ohio. 1921.
- JOHN W. LEA, 1520 North Robinson St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1924.
- Prof. DARWIN A. LEAVITT (Meadville Theol. School), Divinity Hall, Meadville, Pa. 1920.
- Rabbi DAVID LEFKOWITZ, 2415 South Boulevard, Dallas, Texas. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. LÉON LEGRAIN, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
- Rabbi GERSON B. LEVI, Ph.D., 919 Hyde Park Building, Hyde Park Station, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Rabbi SAMUEL J. LEVINSON, 522 East 8th St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.
- ABRAHAM J. LEVY, Box 323, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1924.
- Rev. Dr. FELIX A. LEVY, 707 Melrose St., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Prof. REUBEN LEVY, Jewish Institute of Religion, 40 West 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1924.
- Prof. ISADORE LHEVINNE, 203 W. 111th St., New York, N. Y.
- Rabbi LEON J. LIEBREICH, Temple Beth-El, Stamford, Conn. 1923.
- Dr. H. S. LINFIELD, Bureau of Jewish Social Research, 114 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- JOHN ELLERTON LODGE, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1922.
- Dr. STEPHEN B. LUCE, JR., 267 Clarendon St., Boston, Mass. 1916.
- Prof. DANIEL D. LUCKENBILL, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- Prof. HENRY F. LUTZ (University of California), 1315 Spruce St., Berkeley, Calif. 1916.
- Prof. ALBERT HOWE LYBYER (Univ. of Illinois), 1006 West Nevada St., Urbana, Ill. 1917 (1909).
- Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON, 12 Scott St., Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
- ALBERT MORTON LYTGOE, Curator, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.
- Rev. WILLIAM H. MCCLELLAN, S.J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md. 1922.

- Prof. CHESTER CHARLTON McCOWN, D.D. (Pacific School of Religion), 2223 Atherton St., Berkeley, Calif. 1920.
- Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
- DAVID ISRAEL MACHT, M.D., The Johns Hopkins University Medical School, Monument and Washington Sts., Baltimore, Md. 1918.
- J. ARTHUR MACLEAN, Director, The John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis, Ind. 1922.
- Dr. ROBERT CECIL MACMAHON, 78 West 55th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Dr. JUDAH L. MAGNES, 114 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, 89 Hillcrest Road, Belmont, Mass. 1887.
- Prof. WALTER ARTHUR MAIER, 3709 Texas Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1917.
- Prof. JACOB MANN, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
- Rabbi LOUIS L. MANN, Ph.D., 4600 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Prof. CLARENCE A. MANNING (Columbia Univ.), 61 East 75th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- *Rev. JAMES CAMPBELL MANBY, Ewing College, Allahabad City, U. P., India. 1921.
- Rabbi JOSEPH MARCUS, 301 Landis Ave., Vineland, N. J. 1924.
- RALPH MARCUS, 531 West 124th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Rabbi ELIAS MARGOLIS, Ph.D., 16 Glen Ave., Mount Vernon, N. Y. 1924.
- Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS (Dropsie College), 152 West Horrtter St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
- JAMES P. MARSH, M.D., 1828 Fifth Ave., Troy, N. Y. 1919.
- Pres. H. I. MARSHALL, Karen Theol. Seminary, Insein, Burma, India. 1920.
- JOHN MARTIN, North Adams, Mass. 1917.
- Prof. NICHOLAS N. MARTINOVITCH, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1924.
- LELAND MASON, 422 Holland Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 1925.
- MITFORD C. MASSIE, 220 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1924.
- Prof. ISAAC G. MATTHEWS, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. 1921 (1906).
- Prof. JOSEPH BROWN MATTHEWS, Scarritt College for Christian Workers, Nashville, Tenn. 1924.
- Rabbi HARRY H. MAYER, 3512 Kenwood Ave., Kansas City, Mo. 1921.
- Prof. JOHN A. MAYNARD, D.D., 38 Via Firenze, Rome, Italy. 1917.
- Prof. THEOPHILE J. MEEK, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1917.
- Dean SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Trinity College, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1912.
- R. D. MESSAYEH, Stanton St., Dunwoodie Heights, Yonkers, N. Y. 1919.
- Mrs. EUGENE MEYER, Seven Springs Farm, Mt. Kisco, N. Y. 1916.
- Prof. TRUMAN MICHELSON (George Washington Univ.), Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C. 1899.
- MEETON L. MILLER, 1812 South Bronson Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 1921.
- Rev. PHILO LAOS MILLS, D.D., 2315 Lincoln Road, N. E., Washington, D. C. 1923.

- WALLACE H. MINER, 600 West 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1925.
- Rabbi LOUIS A. MISCHKIND, M.A., 319 North Sheridan Road. Highland Park, Ill. 1920.
- Rev. JOHN MONCURE, Maryland College for Women, Lutherville, Md. 1921.
- Dr. ROBERT LUDWIG MOND, 10 Cavendish Square, London W. 1, England. 1921.
- Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
- LEWIS C. MOON, 3107 North Charles St., Baltimore, Md. 1925.
- Prof. GEORGE FOOT MOORE (Harvard Univ.), 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1925 (1887).
- Rev. HUGH A. MORAN, 221 Eddy St., Ithaca, N. Y. 1920.
- Pres. JULIAN MORGENSTERN (Hebrew Union College), 8 Burton Woods Lane, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1915.
- *EFFINGHAM B. MORRIS, "Tyn-y-Coed," Ardmore, Pa. 1920.
- Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass. 1894.
- Rev. OMER HILLMAN MOTT, O.S.B., 815 West 180th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- DHAN GOPAL MUKERJI, 2 Jane St., New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Dr. WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLT, 245 East Tremont Ave., New York, N. Y. 1887.
- Prof. THOMAS KINLOCH NELSON, Virginia Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Va. 1920.
- ALEXIS A. NENNSBERG, 201 Postal-Telegraph Bldg., Seattle, Wash. 1925.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM M. NESBIT, 980 North Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y. 1916.
- Rev. RALPH B. NESBITT, American Presbyterian Mission, Hoshiarpur, Panjab, India. 1924.
- Professor WILLIAM ROMAINE NEWBOLD, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1918.
- EDWARD THEODORE NEWELL, American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Ven. Archdeacon WILLIAM E. NIES, Friedrichstr. 11, Munich, Germany. 1908.
- Dr. WILLIAM FREDERICK NOTZ, 5402 39th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Dr. ALOIS RICHARD NYKL, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1922.
- Prof. JULIAN J. OBERMANN, Jewish Institute of Religion, 40 West 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1923.
- ADOLPH S. OCHS, The New York Times, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Rt. Rev. DENIS J. O'CONNELL, 800 Cathedral Place, Richmond, Va. 1903.
- Dr. FELIX, Freiherr von OEFFELE, 326 East 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1913.
- HERBERT C. OETTINGER, Eighth and Walnut Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- NAOYOSHI OGAWA, Bureau of Education, Government of Formosa, Taihoku, Formosa. 1921.
- Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, 628 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.
- Dr. ELLEN S. OGDEN, Bishop Hopkins Hall, Burlington, Vt. 1898.
- Prof. SAMUEL G. OLIPHANT, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1906.

- Prof. ALBERT TENEYCK OLMSTEAD (Univ. of Illinois), 706 South Goodwin St., Urbana, Ill. 1909.
- Prof. CHARLES A. OWEN, Assiut College, Assiut, Egypt. 1921.
- LUTHER PARKER, Cabanatuan, P. I. 1922.
- ANTONIO M. PATERNO, 453 P. Gomez St., Manila, P. I. 1922.
- Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
- ROBERT LEET PATTERSON, 1703 Oliver Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
- Pres. CHARLES T. PAUL, College of Missions, Indianapolis, Ind. 1921.
- Miss BAPSY DASTUR C. PAVRY, care of Dr. M. E. Pavry, Marine Villa, Middle Colaba, Bombay, India. 1925.
- Dr. JAL DASTUR CURSETJI PAVRY, care of Dr. M. E. Pavry, Marine Villa, Middle Colaba, Bombay, India. 1921.
- HAROLD PEIRCE, 222 Drexel Building, Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. MARSHALL LIVINGSTON PERRIN, Boston University, 688 Boylston St., Boston, Mass. 1921.
- Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1879.
- Dr. ARNOLD PESKIND, 2414 East 55th St., Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.
- Rev. THEODORE C. PETERSEN, C.S.P., Ph.D., St. Paul's College, Brookland, Washington, D. C. 1924.
- Prof. WALTER PETERSEN (Univ. of Redlands), 618 E. Fern Ave., Redlands, Calif. 1909.
- Dr. ROBERT HENRY PFEIFFER, S.T.M. (Harvard Univ.), 82 Larch Road, Cambridge, Mass. 1920.
- Rev. Dr. DAVID PHILIPSON, 3947 Beechwood Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1889.
- HON. WILLIAM PHILLIPS, American Legation, Brussels, Belgium. 1917.
- Rev. Dr. Z. B. T. PHILLIPS, Church of the Epiphany, Washington, D. C. 1922.
- Rev. MALCOLM S. PITT, Jubblepore, C. P., India. 1925.
- PAUL POPENOE, Box 13, Coachella, Calif. 1914.
- Prof. WILLIAM POPPER, University of California, Berkeley, Calif. 1897.
- Prof. LUCIUS C. PORTER, Peking University, Peking, China. 1923.
- Prof. D. V. POTDAR (New Poona College), 180 Shanvar Peth, Poona, India. 1921.
- Mrs. FREDERICK W. PRATT, 2015 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C. 1924.
- Prof. JAMES BISSETT PRATT, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1925.
- Rev. Dr. SABELL PRENTICE, 127 South Broadway, Nyack, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. IRA M. PRICE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
- HON. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), American Legation, Copenhagen, Denmark. 1888.
- CARL E. PRITZ, 101 Union Trust Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Rev. Dr. A. H. PRUESSNER, Gang Sakotah 10, Kramat, Weltevreden, Java, Dutch East India. 1921.
- Prof. HERBERT R. PURINTON, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine. 1921.

- Prof. CHARLES LYNN PYATT, The College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky. 1921 (1917).
- Dr. G. PAYN QUACKENBOS, Northrup Ave., Tuckahoe, N. Y. 1904.
- Dr. V. V. RAMANA-SASTRIN, Vedaraniam, Tanjore District, India. 1921.
- MARCUS RAUH, 951 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
- Pres. JOHN H. RAVEN (New Brunswick Theol. Seminary), 98 College Ave., New Brunswick, N. J. 1920.
- Prof. HARRY B. REED (Northwestern Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 1852 Polk St., N. E., Minneapolis, Minn. 1921.
- Prof. NATHANIEL REICH (Dropsie College), 3238 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1923.
- Dr. JOSEPH REIDER, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
- JOHN REILLY, JR., American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1918.
- Prof. AUGUST KARL REISCHAUER, Meiji Gakuin, Shirokane Shiba, Tokyo, Japan. 1920.
- Dr. GEORGE L. RICHARDS, 124 Franklin St., Fall River, Mass. 1923.
- Prof. ROBERT THOMAS RIDDLE, St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, Pa. 1920.
- †HALSEY A. RINE, Veterans' Home, Palo Alto, Calif. 1923.
- Prof. EDWARD ROBERTSON, University College of North Wales, Bangor, Wales. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. CHARLES WELLINGTON ROBINSON, Christ Church, Bronxville, N. Y. 1916.
- Prof. DAVID M. ROBINSON, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1921.
- Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Seminary), 2312 North Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- Rev. Dr. THEODORE H. ROBINSON, University College, Cardiff, Wales. 1922.
- GEORGE N. ROERICH, care of Kashmir General Agency, Srinagar, Kashmir, India. 1922.
- Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard Univ.), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
- WALTER A. ROSELLE, 749 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1924.
- Prof. WILLIAM ROSENAU, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
- *JULIUS ROSENWALD, Ravinia, Ill. 1920.
- LESSING J. ROSENWALD, care of Sears, Roebuck and Co., Philadelphia, Pa. 1924.
- SAMUEL ROTHENBERG, M.D., 22 West 7th St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
- Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 537 West 121st St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Dr. ELBERT RUSSELL, 201 Elm Ave., Swarthmore, Pa. 1916.
- Dr. NAJEEB M. SALEEBY, P. O. Box 226, Manila, P. I. 1922.
- Rev. FRANK K. SANDERS, Ph.D., 25 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.
- Prof. HENRY A. SANDERS (Univ. of Michigan), 521 Thompson St., Ann Arbor, Mich. 1924.
- Mrs. A. H. SAUNDERS, 552 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1915.

- Prof. KENNETH J. SAUNDERS (Pacific School of Religion), High Acres, Creston Road, Berkeley, Calif. 1924.
- Prof. HENRY SCHAEFFER (Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 1606 South 11th Ave., Maywood, Chicago, Ill. 1916.
- Dr. ISRAEL SCHAPIRO, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1914.
- Prof. OTTO SCHEERER (Univ. of the Philippines), P. O. Box 659, Manila, P. I. 1922.
- JOHN F. SCHLICHTING, 8504 Woodhaven Boulevard, Woodhaven, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
- ADOLPH SCHOENFELD, 69 East 108th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- WILFRED H. SCHOFF, The Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1912.
- Rabbi JOSEPH J. SCHWARTZ, 64 West 108th St., New York, N. Y. 1925.
- WILLIAM BACON SCOFIELD, Worcester Club, Worcester, Mass. 1919.
- Prof. GILBERT CAMPBELL SCOGGIN, The Gennadeion, Athens, Greece. 1906.
- Prof. JOHN A. SCOTT, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1920.
- C. RANDOLPH JEFFERSON SCOTT, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1925.
- *MRS. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT (*née* Morris), 2106 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
- Prof. HELEN M. SEARLES, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1921.
- Dr. MOSES SEIDEL, 22 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md. 1917.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, 125 Tsuchidoi, Sendai, Miyagi Ken, Japan. 1902.
- Prof. OVID R. SELLERS (McCormick Theol. Seminary), 846 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- VICTOR N. SHARENKOFF (Columbia Univ.), 241 Princeton Ave., Jersey City, N. J. 1922.
- G. HOWLAND SHAW, American Embassy, Constantinople, Turkey. 1921.
- *Dr. T. LESLIE SHEAR, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1923.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SHELLABEAR, 20 Whitman Ave., West Hartford, Conn. 1919.
- Prof. WILLIAM A. SHELTON, Emory University, Atlanta, Ga. 1921.
- Prof. CHARLES N. SHEPARD (General Theol. Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1907.
- ANDREW R. SHERRIFF, 527 Deming Place, N. S., Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- CHARLES C. SHERMAN, 447 Webster Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y. 1904.
- Rev. JOHN KNIGHT SHRYOCK, Anking, China. 1922.
- DON CAMERON SHUMAKER, 257 West 64th St., Chicago, Ill. 1922.
- Rabbi JULIUS L. SIEGEL, 165 Whalley Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1925.
- Rabbi ABRA HILLEL SILVER, The Temple, East 55th St. and Central Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.
- Rev. HIRAM HILL SIPES, Guntur, South India. 1920.
- Prof. S. B. SLACK, 17 Barton Crescent, Dawlish, Devon, England. 1921.
- *JOHN R. SLATTERY, 14 Rue Montaigne, Paris, France. 1903.
- Miss MARION W. SLEEZER, 360 West State St., Paxton, Ill. 1923.
- Rev. H. FRAMER SMITH, 324 West Duval St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1922.

- Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1877.
- Prof. J. M. POWIS SMITH, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
- Prof. LOUISE P. SMITH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1918.
- Rev. Dr. ELIAS L. SOLOMON, 1326 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Dr. E. A. SPEISER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1925.
- Rabbi LEON SPITZ, 151 Gilbert Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1925.
- JOHN FRANKLIN SPRINGER, 618 West 136th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- J. W. STANLEY, 11 City Road, Allahabad, India. 1922.
- Rev. Dr. JAMES D. STEELE, 232 Mountain Way, Rutherford, N. J. 1892.
- MAX STEINBERG, care of Macdonell House, Sydney, Australia. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. THOMAS STENHOUSE, Mickley Vicarage, Stocksfield-on-Tyne, England. 1921.
- Prof. FERRIS J. STEPHENS, Culver-Stockton College, Canton, Mo. 1925.
- HORACE STERN, 1524 North 16th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, 2408 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1900.
- Rev. Dr. JOSEPH STOLZ, 5010 Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Prof. FREDERICK AMES STUFF (Univ. of Nebraska), Station A 1263, Lincoln, Neb. 1921.
- Prof. EDGAR HOWARD STURTEVANT (Yale Univ.), 1849 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1924.
- Dr. VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, P. O. Deccan Gymkhana, Poona City, India. 1921.
- A. J. SUNSTEIN, Farmers Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
- Prof. LEO SUPPAN (St. Louis College of Pharmacy), 2153 Russell Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1920.
- Pres. GEORGE SVERDRUP, JR., Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. 1907.
- Prof. YUNG-TUNG TANG, Southeastern University, Nanking, China. 1922.
- Prof. WILLIAM R. TAYLOR, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1925.
- Rabbi SIDNEY S. TEDESCHKE, 200 Linden St., New Haven, Conn. 1925 (1916).
- NAINSINH L. THAKAR, 359 Mosholu Parkway North, New York, N. Y. 1923.
- EBEN FRANCIS THOMPSON, 311 Main St., Worcester, Mass. 1906.
- Rev. WILLIAM GORDON THOMPSON, 979 Ogden Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Dr. WILLIAM THOMSON (Harvard Univ.), 32 Linnaean St., Cambridge, Mass. 1925.
- Baron Dr. GYOYU TOKIWAI (Imperial Univ. of Kyoto), Isshinden, Province of Ise, Japan. 1921.
- *Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1891.
- I. NEWTON TRAGER, 944 Marion Ave., Avondale, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Rev. ARCHIBALD TREMAYNE, 717 10th St. North, Seattle, Wash. 1918.
- Prof. HAROLD H. TRYON, Union Theological Seminary, 3041 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1921.

- VLADIMIR A. TSANOFF, Hartley Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1924.
- Prof. RUDOLF TSCHUDI, Ph.D., Benkenstrasse 61, Basle, Switzerland. 1923.
- Rabbi JACOB TURNER, 4167 Ogden Ave., Hawthorne Station, Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- EDWIN H. TUTTLE, The Gordon, 916 16th St., Washington, D. C. 1925.
- Rev. DUDLEY TYNG, 721 Douglas Ave., Providence, R. I. 1922.
- *Rev. Dr. LEMON LEANDER UHL, Riverbank Court, Cambridge, Mass. 1921.
- Rev. SYDNEY N. USSHER, 44 East 76th St., New York, N. Y. 1909.
- Rev. JOHN VAN ESS, Basra, Mesopotamia. 1921.
- Rev. M. VANOVERBERGH, Lubuagan-Kalinga, Mt. Prov., P. I. 1921.
- †Mrs. JOHN KING VAN RENSSELAER, 70 East 92d St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. ARTHUR A. VASCHALDE, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
- LUDWIG VOGELSTEIN, 61 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. EDWIN E. VOIGT, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1925.
- Prof. JACOB WACKERNAGEL (Univ. of Basle), Gartenstr. 93, Basle, Switzerland. 1921.
- *FELIX M. WARBURG, 52 William St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- JAMES R. WARE, American University Union, 173 Boulevard Saint Germain, Paris, France. 1923.
- Prof. WILLIAM F. WARREN (Boston Univ.), 131 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass. 1877.
- Prof. LEROY WATERMAN, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1912.
- JAMES B. WEAVER, 412 Iowa National Bank Building, Des Moines, Iowa. 1922.
- *Prof. HUTTON WEBSTER (Univ. of Nebraska), Station A, Lincoln, Neb. 1921.
- ARCHIBALD GIBSON WENLEY, American Legation, Peking, China. 1925.
- Rev. O. V. WERNER, Ranchi, Chhota Nagpur, India. 1921.
- Prof. J. E. WERREN, 42 Chapel St., Abington, Mass. 1894.
- ARTHUR J. WESTERMAYE, 14 John St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- President Emeritus BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, University of California, Berkeley, Calif. 1885.
- JOHN G. WHITE, Williamson Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1912.
- Pres. WILBERT W. WHITE, D.D., The Biblical Seminary in New York, 541 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- †Miss ETHEL E. WHITNEY, Hotel Hemenway, Boston, Mass. 1921.
- *Miss MARGARET DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1908.
- *Miss CAROLYN M. WICKER, Woman's Club, Fine Arts Building, Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- PETER WIENIK, 233 East Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1920.
- HERMAN WILE, 566 Richmond Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. HERBERT L. WILLETT (Univ. of Chicago), 77 West Washington St., Chicago, Ill. 1917.

- Mrs. CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS, The Chesbrough Dwellings, Toledo, Ohio. 1912.
- Prof. CHARLES ALLYN WILLIAMS (Univ. of Illinois), 714 West Nevada St., Urbana, Ill. 1925.
- Hon. E. T. WILLIAMS (Univ. of California), 1410 Scenic Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 1901.
- Prof. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
- Mrs. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS, 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1918.
- Prof. TALCOTT WILLIAMS, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1884.
- JOHN A. WILSON, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1924.
- Major HERBERT E. WINLOCK, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1919.
- Rabbi JONAH B. WISE, Central Synagogue, Lexington Ave. and East 55th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. STEPHEN S. WISE, 23 West 90th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. JOHN E. WISHART, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, Calif. 1911.
- Rev. ADOLF LOUIS WISMAR, 419 West 145th St., New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Dr. UNRAI WOGIHARA, 20 Tajimacho, Asakusa, Tokyo, Japan. 1921.
- Prof. LOUIS B. WOLFENSON, 160 Canterbury St., Dorchester, Mass. 1904.
- Prof. HARRY A. WOLFSON (Harvard Univ.), 35 Divinity Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1917.
- HOWLAND WOOD, Curator, American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1919.
- Prof. IRVING F. WOOD (Smith College), Northampton, Mass. 1905.
- Prof. WILLIAM H. WOOD (Dartmouth College), 3 Clement Road, Hanover, N. H. 1917.
- Prof. JAMES H. WOODS (Harvard Univ.), 16 Prescott Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
- Prof. ALFRED COOPER WOOLNER, M.A., University of the Panjab, 11 Race-course Road, Lahore, India. 1921.
- Prof. JESSE ERWIN WRENCH (Univ. of Missouri), 1104 Hudson Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1917.
- Rev. HORACE K. WRIGHT, Vengurla, Bombay Presidency, India. 1921.
- Prof. MARTIN J. WYNGAARDEN (Calvin College and Theol. Seminary), 1116 Bates St., S. E., Grand Rapids, Mich. 1924.
- Rev. Dr. ROYDEN KEITH YERKES (Philadelphia Divinity School), Box 247, Merion, Pa. 1916.
- †Rev. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, Ph.D., Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. HARRY CLINTON YORK, Hood College, Frederick, Md. 1922.
- Rev. ROBERT ZIMMERMAN, S.J., St. Xavier's College, Cruickshank Road, Bombay, India. 1911.
- Rev. Dr. SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, care of American Mission, Cairo, Egypt. 1920.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the **AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY**.

ARTICLE II. The objects contemplated by this Society shall be:—

1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.

2. The cultivation of a taste for Oriental studies in this country.

3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications, presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.

4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

ARTICLE III. The membership of the Society shall consist of corporate members, honorary members, and honorary associates.

ARTICLE IV. SECTION 1. Honorary members and honorary associates shall be proposed for membership by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

SECTION 2. Candidates for corporate membership may be proposed and elected in the same manner as honorary members and honorary associates. They may also be proposed at any time by any member in regular standing. Such proposals shall be in writing and shall be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, who shall thereupon submit them to the Executive Committee for its action. A unanimous vote of the Executive Committee shall be necessary in order to elect.

ARTICLE V. SECTION 1. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, two Editors of the **JOURNAL**, the President and the Secretary of any duly authorized branch of the Society, and nine Directors. The officers of the Society shall be elected at the annual meeting, by ballot, for a term of one year. The Directors shall consist of three groups of three members each, one group to be elected each year at

the annual meeting for a term of three years. No Director shall be eligible for immediate re-election as Director, tho he may be chosen as an officer of the Society.

SECTION 2. An Executive Committee, consisting of the President, Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer, and two other Directors each elected for a term of two years, shall be constituted by the Board of Directors. The Executive Committee shall have power to take action provisionally in the name of the Society on matters of importance which may arise between meetings of the Society or of the Board of Directors, and on which, in the Committee's opinion, action cannot be postponed without injury to the interests of the Society. Notice of all actions taken by the Executive Committee shall be printed as soon as possible in the JOURNAL, and shall be reported to the Directors and the Society at the succeeding annual meeting. Unless such actions, after being thus duly advertised and reported, are disapproved by a majority vote of the members present at any session of the succeeding annual meeting, they shall be construed to have been ratified and shall stand as actions of the Society.

ARTICLE VI. The President and Vice-Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, the Treasurer, the Librarian, and the two Editors of the JOURNAL shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

ARTICLE VIII. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Five Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX. An annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors, may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

ARTICLE X. To provide for scientific meetings of groups of members living at too great a distance to attend the annual sessions of the Society, branches may be organized with the approval of the Directors. The details of organization are to be left to those forming a branch thus authorized, subject to formal ratification by the Directors.

ARTICLE XI. This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

BY-LAWS

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

III. *a.* The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

III. *b.* After December 31, 1896, the fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. *c.* At each annual business meeting in Easter week, the President shall appoint an auditing committee of two men—preferably men residing in or near the town where the Treasurer lives—to examine the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers, and to inspect the evidences of the Society's property, and to see that the funds called for by his balances are in his hands. The Committee shall perform this duty as soon as possible after the New Year's day succeeding their appointment, and shall report their findings to the Society at the next annual business meeting thereafter. If these findings are satisfactory, the Treasurer shall receive his acquittance by a certificate to that effect, which shall be recorded in the Treasurer's book, and published in the Proceedings.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the names of the donors, if they are presented, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the library during the previous year, and shall be farther guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

V. All papers read before the Society, and all manuscripts deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors, unless notice to the contrary is given to the Editors at the time of presentation.

.VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars; but a donation at any one time of seventy-five dollars shall exempt from obligation to make this payment.

VII. All members shall be entitled to one copy of all current numbers of the JOURNAL issued during their membership. Back volumes of the JOURNAL shall be furnished to members at twenty per cent reduction from

the list price. All other publications of the Society may be furnished to members at such reductions in price as the Directors may determine.

VIII. Candidates for corporate membership who have been elected shall qualify as members by payment of the first annual assessment within one month from the time when notice of such election is mailed to them, or, in the case of persons not residing in the United States, within a reasonable time. A failure so to qualify, unless explained to the satisfaction of the Executive Committee, shall be construed as a refusal to become a member. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Executive Committee, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

IX. Six members shall form a quorum for doing business, and three to adjourn.

SUPPLEMENTARY BY-LAWS

I. FOR THE LIBRARY

1. The Library shall be accessible for consultation to all members of the Society, at such times as the Library of Yale College, with which it is deposited, shall be open for a similar purpose; further, to such persons as shall receive the permission of the Librarian, or of the Librarian or Assistant Librarian of Yale College.

2. Any member shall be allowed to draw books from the Library upon the following conditions: he shall give his receipt for them to the Librarian, pledging himself to make good any detriment the Library may suffer from their loss or injury, the amount of said detriment to be determined by the Librarian, with the assistance of the President, or of a Vice-President; and he shall return them within a time not exceeding three months from that of their reception, unless by special agreement with the Librarian this term shall be extended.

3. Persons not members may also, on special grounds, and at the discretion of the Librarian, be allowed to take and use the Society's books, upon depositing with the Librarian a sufficient security that they shall be duly returned in good condition, or their loss or damage fully compensated.

II. ON THE ORGANIZATION OF BRANCHES

1. Upon the formation of a branch, as provided in the Constitution, the officers chosen shall have the right to propose for corporate membership in the Society such persons as may seem eligible to them, and, pending ratification according to Article IV of the Constitution, these candidates shall receive the JOURNAL and all notices issued by the Society.

2. The annual fee of the members of a branch shall be collected by the Treasurer of the Society, in the usual manner, and in order to defray the current expenses of a branch the Directors shall authorize the Treasurer of the Society to forward from time to time to the duly authorized officer of the branch such sums as may seem proper to the Treasurer. The accounts of the Treasurer of the branch shall be audited annually and a statement of the audit shall be sent to the Treasurer of the Society to be included in his annual report.

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